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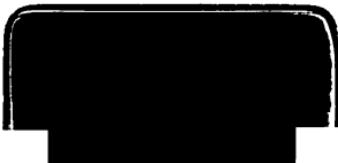
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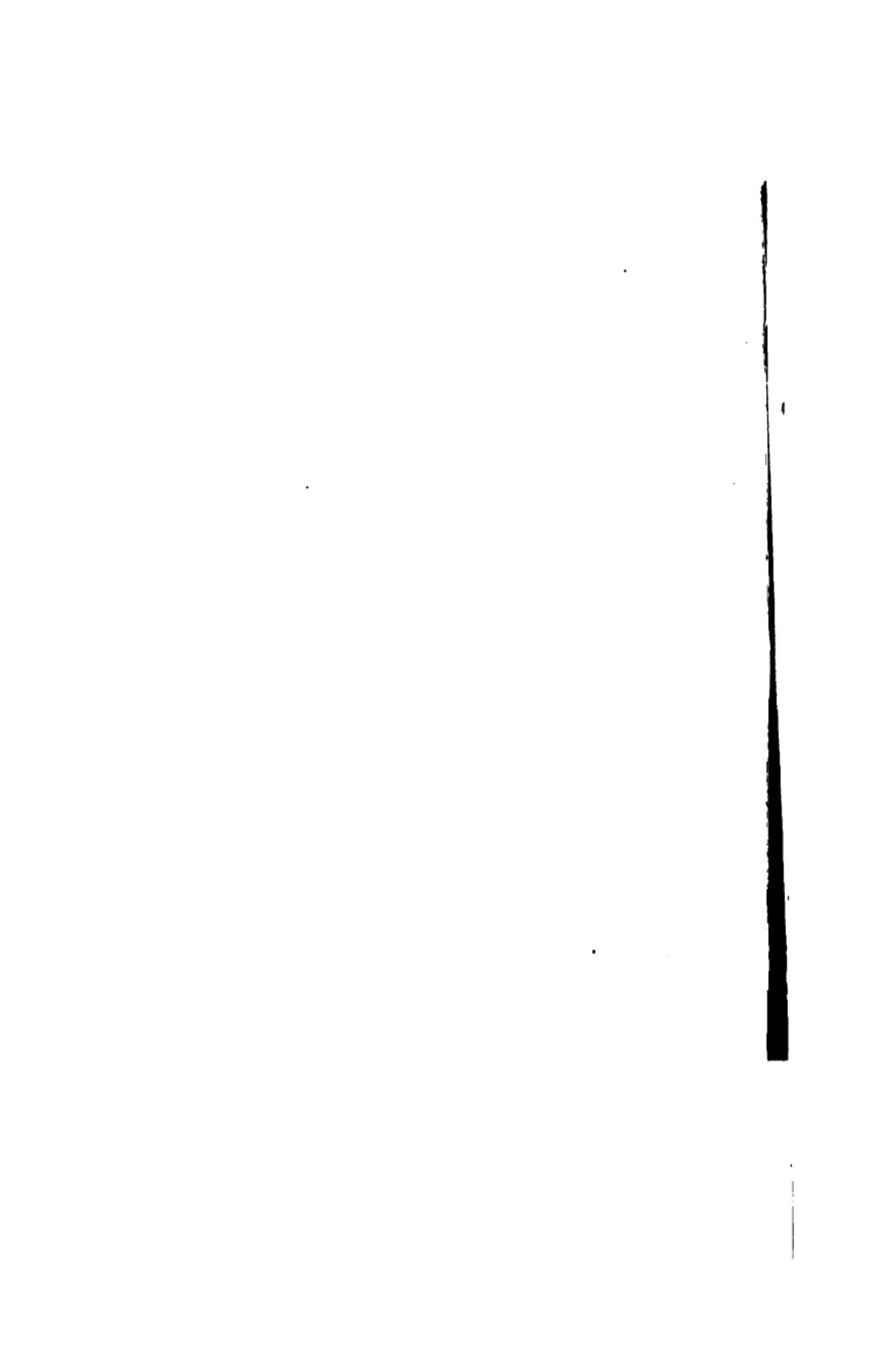
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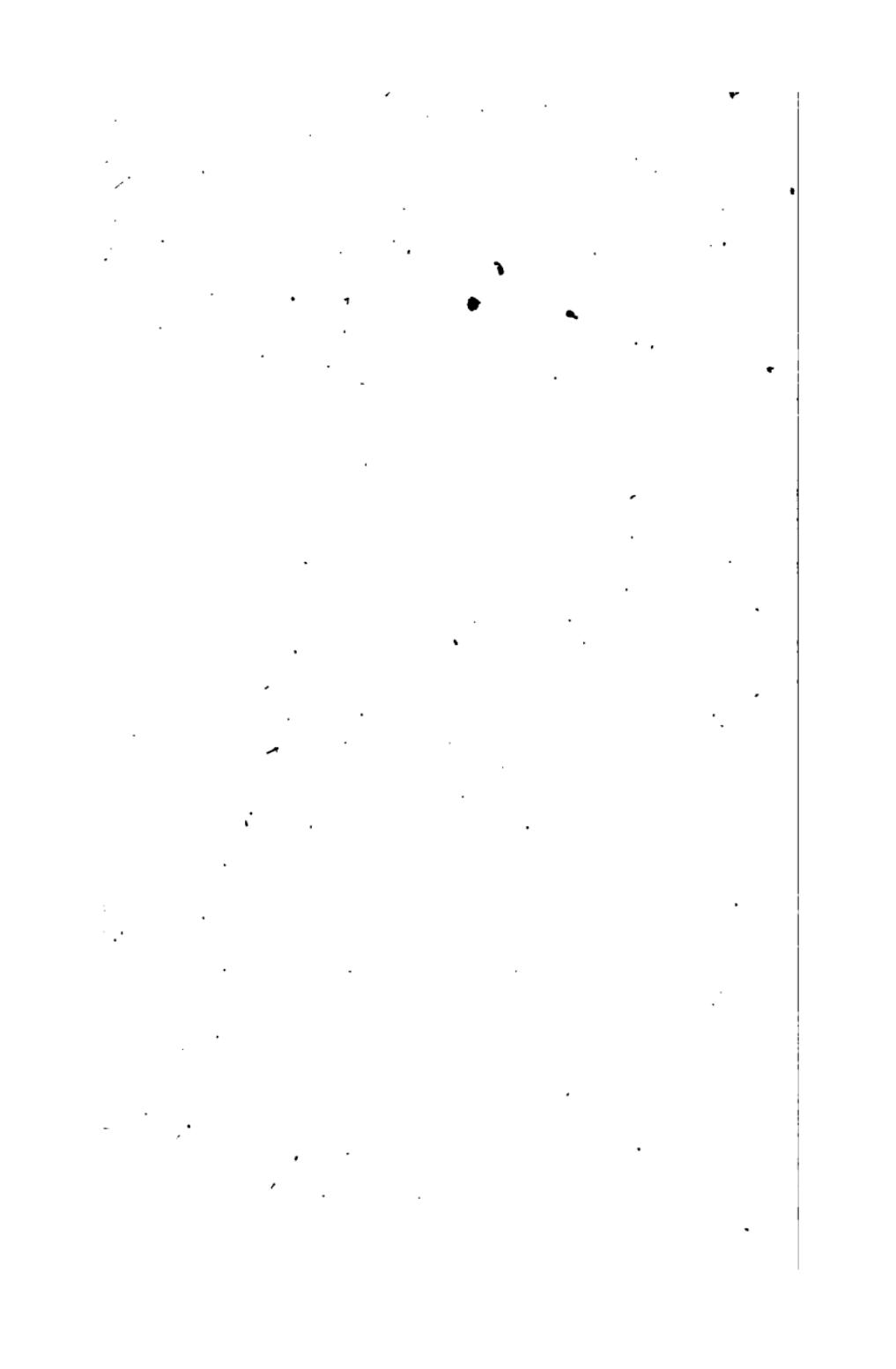




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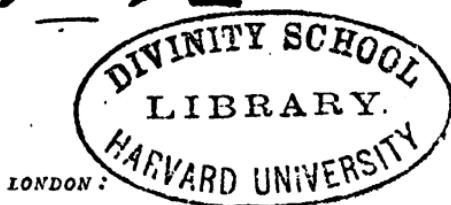


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A

SHORT ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
ROBERT BARCLAY.

By Joseph Gurney Bevan.



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XO

INTRODUCTION.

THOUGH the memory of ROBERT BARCLAY is not likely to perish, it seems desirable to add one more memorial of him to those already existing: chiefly for the purpose of bringing his life and labours into a narrow point of view; and of furnishing many of his numerous descendants, whose usual avocations do not lead them to the study of his writings and character, with a portrait of their honourable predecessor, that may excite their admiration, engage their esteem, and induce their imitation.

Imitation, indeed, as it is not the source of virtue, so neither can it be virtue's support; yet the examples of pious men in preceding ages are encouragements to the pious of the present, and are a call upon such as have not

yet arrived at equal degrees of spiritual attainment, to examine the nature of the obstruction. Seeing, “The same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him,” we must, probably, seek in ourselves for the cause of the difference which we observe; and should we be persuaded to make proof of his riches, goodness, and mercy, by calling upon him, in an humble sense of our misery and want,—a want which no other riches can supply—we shall find it no disgrace to our character, to be found “followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises.”

The following account of ROBERT BARCLAY, is comprised under two general heads. The first contains a survey of his origin, education, progress in religion, and the chief events of his life. The second mentions his writings, the time and motives of their publication; and gives a brief description of their contents.

SHORT ACCOUNT, &c.

PART I.

*His origin—education—progress in religion—and
the chief events of his life.*

ROBERT BARCLAY was born at Gordons-toun* in the shire of Murray, the 23d of December (then the tenth month) 1648. William Penn has mentioned Edinburgh as the place of his birth; but this, according to the account preserved in his family, is erroneous. † His lineal ancestors are traced back, by unquestionable documents, to Theobald de

* Memoirs of the life of Col. D. Barclay of Ury, and of his eldest son R. Barclay of Ury, p. 31.

† Genealogical Account of the Barcleys of Ury, &c.

Berkeley, who lived in the reign of David I., king of Scotland. This king came to the throne in 1124, and was consequently contemporary with Henry I. of England, son of the Norman conqueror.

Alexander de Berkeley, the fourth in succession from Theobald, having obtained by marriage, in 1351, the lands of Mathers, the family afterwards became designated by the appellation of De Berkeley of Mathers; until his great grandson, called also Alexander, changed the name to the present mode of spelling, Barclay. Such a change seems to imply but little acquaintance with books and records; yet this Alexander was reputed to be a scholar; and to him are ascribed some verses said to be written by a *laird* of Mathers, as advice to his son. The verses, whoever may have been the author, are worth preserving, both for their piety and good sense, and, supposing them to be his, as a specimen of Scottish poetry in the fifteenth century.

Giff thou desire thy house lang stand,
And thy successors bruik thy land,
Abive all things, leif God in fear ;
Intromit nought with wrangous gear ;
Nor conquess nothing wrangously ;
With thy neighbour keep charity.
See that thou pass not thy estate ;
Obey duly thy magistrate ;
Oppress not, but support the paire ;
To help the common weill take cuire.
Use no deceit ; mell not with treason ;
And to all men do right and reason.
Both unto word and deed be true ;
All kind of wickedness eschew.
Slay no man ; nor thereto consent ;
Be nought cruel, but patient.
Ally a ay in some guid place,
With noble, honest, godly, race.
Hate huirdome, and all vices flee ;
Be humble ; haunt guid companie.
Help thy friend, and do nae wrang,
And God shall make thy house stand lang.

If this be really the production of the first Barclay, it is probable that the spelling of some of the words has been modernised.

The eighth in descent from Alexander Barclay, was David Barclay ; who, being in straitened circumstances through expensive living, sold his paternal estate of Mathers, after it had remained 300 years in the family, and also a more ancient inheritance which had been held 500 years. The designation of Barclay of Mathers was consequently lost; and in 1648, on the purchase of Ury by David, son of the last Barclay of Mathers, and father to Robert, the family assumed that of Barclay of Ury, which the spirit of feudal times, still surviving in Scotland, is disposed to retain.

This description of pedigree may seem impertinent in religious biography. It must be allowed that, unconnected with virtue in the descendant, pedigree, when laid in the balance, "is altogether lighter than vanity."*. It serves,

among such as have not learned in the school of Christ, to prompt, and to foster, human pride. But when we see persons, distinguished by birth and rank, deeming them of little value, in comparison of “the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus the Lord;” we perceive the sincerity and strength of their faith, and the prevalence of that power which can redeem from the love of earthly enjoyments.

Before entering on the life of ROBERT BARCLAY, it may be proper to advert for a short time to that of his father, David Barclay of Ury, commonly called Colonel Barclay; who was born at Kirktonhill, the seat of the Barcleys of Mathers, in 1610.* In his youth he was a volunteer in the army under Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden, in which he rose to the rank of major. On the breaking out of the civil wars, he returned home, and became colonel of a regiment of horse on the side of the king; but on the success of Cromwell in

* *Memoirs* p. 14.

Scotland he lost his military employments, which he never after resumed. In 1647 he married Katharine Gordon, daughter of Sir Robert Gordon, of Gordonstoun.

Notwithstanding his attachment to the royal cause, he was committed, after the restoration, a prisoner to Edinburgh castle; but was liberated, without any thing being laid to his charge, or any reason given for his commitment.* In this prison he met with John Swinton,† a person who had been in the interest of Cromwell, and who was confined on that account. Swinton had been attainted of treason by the Scottish parliament about nine years before, but had escaped into England; whence, on the revival of the regal government, he was sent a prisoner to Edinburgh. During his residence in England, he had adopted the religious principles of the society of Friends; and, when in Edinburgh

* Biog. Brit.

† In the Memoirs, p. 54, he is called "The Laird of Swinton, Mr. & had been one of the lords of session."

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castle, he was more concerned to spread them, than to defend his life. This person is said to have been the instrument of convincing David Barclay of the truth of these principles: but, according to his son's account, he did not profess them openly till a few years after. David Barclay underwent the indignities and imprisonments, which were often the lot of our early friends; and he died in the year 1696.* On one occasion, having met with particular abuse from the populace of Aberdeen, he remarked that he felt more satisfaction, as well as honour, in being so insulted for his religious principles, than he used to feel, when the magistrates to gain his favour were accustomed to meet him at a distance from the city, and conduct him to public entertainments in the town-house; accompanying him afterwards as many miles on his way from them.

The following account of the close of his life, is taken from the testimony of his son.*

In his illness, which continued about a fortnight, he signified a quiet contented mind, freely resigned to the will of God. About two days before his death, feeling his weakness with the pain [from the gravel], in an agony he said, *I am going now*; and then, instantly checking himself, added, *But I shall go to the Lord, and be gathered to many of my brethren who are gone before me; and to my dear son.*†

The 11th of the 8th month, between two and three in the morning, he growing weaker, I drew nigh to him. He said, *Is this my son?* I said, yea, and spake a few words signifying my travail that He that loved him might be near him to the end. He answered,

* Barclay's works, fol. 907.

† This was his youngest son, David, who died at sea, about a year before. He was an amiable youth, of exemplary life and conversation, and was an acceptable preacher among Friends.

‘ The Lord is nigh, repeating it once again, says
‘ ing, *You are my witnesses, in the presence of*
‘ *God, that the Lord is nigh.* And a little after,
‘ he said, *The perfect discovery of the day spring*
‘ *from on high! how great a blessing it hath been*
‘ *to me, and to my family!* My wife desiring to
‘ know if he woold have something to wet his
‘ mouth, he said it needed not. She said it
‘ would refresh him. He laid his hand upon
‘ his breast, saying, *He had that inwardly that*
‘ *refreshed him.* And after a little while he
‘ added, divers times, these words, *The truth*
‘ *is over all.*

‘ An apothecary coming near, he took him
‘ by the hand, saying, *Thou wilt bear me wit-*
‘ *ness, that in all this exercise I have not been*
‘ *curious to tamper, nor to pamper the flesh.* He
‘ answered, *Sir, I can bear witness that you*
‘ *have always minded the better, and more sub-*
‘ *stantial part; and rejoice to see the blessed end*
‘ *the Lord is bringing you to.* He replied, *Bear*

* *one faithful and true witness; yet is it the life of*
 * *righteousness, (repeating these words twice*
 * *over;) that we bear testimony to, and not to*
 * *an empty profession.* Then he called several
 * *times, Come, Lord Jesus, come, come. And*
 * *again, My hope is in the Lord.* Observing a
 * *countryman coming into the room, he thought*
 * *it had been one of his tenants, who was a car-*
 * *penter; I telling him it was not he, but*
 * *another, he said, Set thou tell him to make no*
 * *manner of superfluity upon my coffin.*

* About three in the afternoon several friends
 * came to see him. After some words were
 * spoken, and Patrick Livingstone had prayed,
 * which ended in praises, he held up his hands
 * and said, Amen! Amen for ever! And after
 * they stood up looking at him, he said, *How*
 * *precious is the love of God among his children;*
 * *and their love one to another! Thereby shall all*
 * *men know that ye are Christ's disciples, if you*
 * *love one another.* *How precious a thing it is to*

“ *see brethren dwell together in love ! My love is
with you. I leave it among you.* ”

“ About eight at night, perceiving some to weep, he said, *Dear friends, all mind the inward man, Heed not the outward. There is one that doth regard. The Lord of Hosts is his name.* After he heard the clock strike three in the morning, he said, *Now the time comes, And a little after he was heard to say, Praises, praises, praises to the Lord ! Let now thy servant depart in peace. Into thy hands, O Father, I commit my soul, spirit, and body. Thy will, O Lord, be done in earth, as it is in heaven.* ” And so, a little after five in the morning, the 12th day of the 8th month, 1686, he fell asleep.”

He was interred in the burying ground at Ury, which he had allotted for his own family, and for Friends.

ROBERT BARCLAY, the subject of this narrative, received the rudiments of learning in his

native country, and after having gone through the best schools there, he was sent to the Scots' College at Paris, of which his uncle Robert (son of the last Barclay of Mathers) was the rector. Here he made so great a proficiency in his studies as to gain the notice and praise of the masters of the college ; and he also became so great a favourite with his uncle, as to receive the offer of being made his heir, if he would remain in France. But his father, fearing that he might become tainted with the superstitions of popery, and in compliance with his mother's dying request, went to Paris in order to bring him home, when he was not much more than sixteen years of age. The uncle still endeavoured to prevent his return ; and proposed to purchase for him, and present to him immediately, an estate greater than his paternal one. Robert replied, ' He is my father, and must be obeyed.' Thus he sacrificed interest to filial duty : and the uncle, dis-

obliged, left his property to the college, and to other religious houses in France. The return of ROBERT BARCLAY to Scotland was in the year 1664.*

The following passage contains some account of his religious experience in childhood and youth. It is extracted, nearly in his own words, from the introduction to his Treatise on Universal Love: ‘ My first education, from my infancy, fell amongst the strictest sort of Calvinists ; those of our country being generally acknowledged to be the severest of that sect ; in the heat of zeal surpassing not only Geneva, from whence they derive their pedigree, but all other the Reformed churches abroad, so called. I had scarce got out of my childhood, when I was, by the permission of Divine Providence, cast among the company of Papists ; and my tender years and immature capacity not being able to with-

stand and resist the insinuations that were
used to proselyte me to that way, I became
quickly defiled with the pollutions thereof;
and continued therein for a time, until it
pleased God through his rich love and mercy,
to deliver me out of those snares, and to
give me a clear understanding of the evil of
that way. In both these sects I had abund-
dant occasion to receive impressions contrary
to this principle of *love*: seeing the straitness
of several of their doctrines, as well as their
practice of persecution, do abundantly declare
how opposite they are to universal love. The
time that intervened betwixt my forsaking the
church of Rome, and joining those with
whom I now stand engaged, I kept myself
free from joining with any sort of people,
though I took liberty to hear several; and
my converse was most with those that inveigh
much against *judging*, and such kind of seve-
rity: which latitude may perhaps be esteemed

the other extreme, opposite to the precision of these other sects; whereby I also received an opportunity to know what usually is pretended on that side likewise. As for those I am now joined to, I justly esteem them to be the true followers and servants of Jesus Christ.'

It does not appear that R. Barclay was convinced of the truth of Friends' principles, merely by the means of preaching. In his *Apology*, Prop. XI. §. 7. speaking of himself, he says, ' Who, not by strength of argument, or by a particular disquisition of each doctrine, and conviction of my understanding thereby, came to receive and bear witness of the Truth; but by being secretly reached by this Life, For when I came into the silent assemblies of God's people, I felt a secret power amongst them which touched my heart; and as I gave way unto it, I found

‘ the evil weakening in me, and the good raised
‘ up ; and so I became thus knit and united
‘ unto them, hungering more and more after the
‘ increase of this power and life, whereby I
‘ might find myself perfectly redeemed.’

In the month called February, 1669-70, ROBERT BARCLAY married Christian Mollison, daughter of Gilbert Mollison, a merchant in Aberdeen ; and on his marriage settled at Ury, with his father. The issue of this marriage was three sons and four daughters ; viz. Robert, David, John, Patience, Katharine, Christian, and Jane ; all of whom survived him, and were living fifty years after his death. The education of these children, on account of the early death of their father, was of course much under the care of his widow.

In the life of John Gratton, there is a pleasing and instructive account of this excellent mother's solicitude, to imbue the tender minds of her children, with pious and good principles.

The passage is as follows: ' I observed (1694) that when her children were up in the morning, and dressed, she sat down with them, before breakfast ; and in a religious manner waited upon the Lord : which pious care, and motherly instruction of her children, when young, doubtless had its desired effect upon them ; for, as they grew in years, they also grew in the knowledge of the blessed Truth ; and since that time some of them have become public preachers thereof.'

Believing it to be her duty to appear as a preacher of righteousness, she was very solicitous that her example might, in all respects, correspond with her station. The following extracts from the testimony of the monthly meeting of Ury, as they exhibit some striking traits of the character of this amiable and pious woman, will doubtless be acceptable to the reader.

She was religiously inclined from her
youth ; and publicly embraced the testimony
of Truth, in the love of it, in early years,
viz. about the sixteenth year of her age, and
that through many hardships and sufferings ;
in which she walked all along suitably to
what she professed. Her travail was great
for the prosperity of the blessed Truth, and
for all who professed it, that they might wit-
ness possession, which is far beyond profession.
She laid herself out to assist, and give advice
to sick people ; and supplied their necessities,
especially the poor ; many of whom came ten,
twenty, thirty, and some forty miles, and up-
wards, receiving great benefit ; for her success
was wonderful : and great is the lamentation
made for her removal, among the poor and sick.
She was a well accomplished woman every way,
and of singular virtues, which she improved,
to the praise of the Lord. When we call to

mind the solidity, the soundness, the seriousness that attended her; the care and concern she was under, that no slackness, or un concernness might be in the church, but that diligence might be used to make our calling and election sure; the great and daily concern, which was attended with a good effect, for the preservation of her children and grandchildren, of whom she commonly had eight or ten in the family with her; and how exemplarily she walked before them; we cannot avoid lamenting the loss of her.

She was taken ill the 12th of the 3d month, 1722; and from that time until her removal she continued weakly. Comfortable to us is the remembrance of the many precious seasons we then had in her company, and under her ministry; her concern for the Truth and Church's prosperity continuing with her to the last, her earnest travail being then, as it

had been all her life long, to be a faithful labourer for her God; who had been with her, and blessed her with his presence, from her youth upwards; and who remarkably attended her to the drawing of her last breath; which was in great peace, joy, and quietness, upon the 14th of the 12th month, 1723, in the 76th year of her age.'

ROBERT BARCLAY, after his marriage, lived about sixteen years with his father; in which time most of the tracts were written, that have gained him so much reputation as a religious writer. His time however was not all passed in endeavouring to serve the cause of religion with his pen. He both acted and suffered for it. The earliest transaction recorded of him, is one which, probably, would not have been expected from a person of the turn of mind which ROBERT BARCLAY appears, from his writings, to have possessed; namely, the passing through the streets of Aberdeen clothed in

sackcloth.* This action is branded, by the writer of his life in the General Biography now publishing, with the name of enthusiasm ; and is even stigmatized with marks of contempt, by his eulogist in the Biographia Britannica : by each of them, however, his sincerity is allowed. After he had thus become ‘a spectacle to men,’† he wrote a short address on the subject to the inhabitants of Aberdeen. The following extract from it exhibits the motive and design of his exposure ; and shows that he did not engage in it, without previously opening his intention to some of his religious associates. ‘Therefore was I commanded of the Lord to pass through your streets covered with sackcloth and ashes, calling you to *repentance*, that ye might yet be more awakened, and alarmed to take notice of the Lord’s voice unto you ; and not to despise these things which belong to your peace, whilst

* This was in the year 1672.

† Barclay’s Works, 105.

‘ your day lasteth, lest hereafter they be hid
‘ from your eyes. And the command of the
‘ Lord concerning this thing came unto me
‘ that very morning as I awakened, and the
‘ burden thereof was very great ; yea, seemed
‘ almost insupportable unto me (for such a
‘ thing, until that very moment, had never
‘ entered me before, not in the most remote
‘ consideration). And some whom I called,
‘ to declare to them this thing, can bear wit-
‘ ness how great was the agony of my spirit ;
‘ how I besought the Lord with tears that this
‘ cup might pass away from me ; yea, how the
‘ pillars of my tabernacle were shaken, and how
‘ exceedingly my bones trembled, until I freely
‘ gave up unto the Lord’s will. And this was
‘ the end and tendency of my testimony, to call
‘ you to repentance, by this signal and singular
‘ step ; which I, as to my own will and incli-
‘ nation, was as unwilling to be found in, as the
‘ worst and the wickedest of you can be averse

from receiving, or laying it to heart. Let all
and every one of you, in whom there is yet
alive the least regard to God, or his fear,
consider and weigh this matter in the presence
of God, and by the spirit of Jesus Christ in
your hearts, which makes all things manifest.
Search and examine, every one in his own
soul, how far this warning and voice of the
Lord is applicable unto them ; and how great
need they have to be truly humbled in their
spirits ; returning unto the Lord in their
inward parts, with such true and unfeigned
repentance, as answers to the outward clothing
of sackcloth, and being covered with ashes.—
Consider, where are ye who are called Christ,
ians ; among whom it is become a wonder, a
stone of stumbling, or matter of mockery, or
a ground of reproach, for one, in the name of
the Lord, to invite you to repentance, in
sackcloth and ashes ? Would not the heathen
condemn you in this thing ; and will not

¶ Nineveh stand up in judgment against you. ¶ How is it that ye that are called Christians can willingly give room to every idle mountebank, and can suffer your minds to be drawn out to behold these sinful diversions, which indeed divert the mind from the serious sense of God's fear? The people can be gathered there, and neither the magistrates complain of tumult, nor yet preachers and professors cry out against it as delusion or madness. O my friends, consider; can there be any more strongly deluded, than for people daily to acknowledge and confess they are sinners and sinning, in words; and to startle at that which did so lively represent unto them what they own to be their own state and condition?—I shall add that which upon this occasion, I declared unto you, I was for a sign from the Lord unto you; I desire ye may not be among those that wonder and perish, but rather repent and

be saved. And this is my testimony unto you whether you will hear or forbear. I have peace with my God in what I have done, and am satisfied that his requirements I have answered in this thing.'

Though ROBERT BARCLAY kept some account of the transactions of his life ; yet, the manuscript book containing that account having been lost, it is only from the incidental mention of them in the writings of others, that many things respecting him can be collected and arranged.

Andrew Jaffray intimates, that ROBERT BARCLAY sometimes availed himself of the opportunity, which the national congregations afforded, of promulgating the doctrines of the society. His first visit to London was probably in 1674, as we find from a passage in the journal of John Gratton, who in that year, together with ROBERT BARCLAY, Patrick Livingstone, and William Hague, paid a visit to the

notorious Lodwick Muggleton.* The next year, 1675,† conjointly with George Keith,‡ he was engaged in a public dispute with some of the students in the university of Aberdeen. Though this dispute did not terminate to the satisfaction of the disputants on either side, yet it was attended, as is said, with this effect, that it proved the means of convincing four other students, who were part of the auditory, of the truth of the principles maintained by ROBERT BARCLAY. In 1676‡ he travelled again to London on a religious visit to his friends; and made a similar visit in Holland and Germany. In this journey he commenced an acquaintance with Elizabeth, princess-palatine of the Rhine; with whom, as appears from a letter she wrote to him on his return, he had a conference on religious subjects. After he had completed this visit, he returned to London; where he received intelligence of the im-

* Gratton's Life, page 68, Edit. 1795.

† Barclay's Works, p. 569. ‡ Memoirs, p. 35.

prisonment of his father, with some other friends, at Aberdeen. On this occasion, he presented into the hands of the king, Charles II. the following petition.

‘ The state of the case of the people called Quakers in Scotland, presented unto the king’s consideration.

‘ The Council of Scotland having about three months ago, emitted a declaration to reinforce former Acts of Parliament against Conventicles, and recommended the execution of them, because of the abuse several persons had made of the king’s indulgence, as the said declaration intimates ; some inferior magistrates have taken occasion thereby to imprison many of them ; and some deputies of the county have stretched the laws against conventicles to the utmost pitch of severity, by heavy fines and tedious imprisonments, although their practices and principles never gave ground for such procedure.

It is therefore, on behalf of the said suffering people, with all sincere respect, desired,
 that it would please the king favourably to
 recommend their case to the Council of Scotland; that a difference of character may be
 put upon them who have ever lived and
 behaved themselves peaceably under the present government, from such that are said to
 have abused the indulgence; with some present relief to those harmless sufferers, to prevent their utter ruin; which in all probability
 will attend so many of them that live by their labour and trade.

(Signed) R. BARCLAY.

By the king's direction the following laconic order was quickly underwritten to the remonstrance of BARCLAY, viz.

His majesty is graciously pleased to refer this paper to the right honourable the lords of his majesty's privy council of Scotland.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

Whitehall, August 7th,
 1676.

, In this year, 1676, **BARCLAY**'s *Apology* was first published. He was then in the 28th year of his age. To say much of his writings, in this place, would be a deviation from the plan proposed : but it may not be improper to observe, that it is to the credit of **Charles II.** that he took no offence at the Christian freedom, which **ROBERT BARCLAY** had used in his famous *inscription* of that work to him. On the contrary, it is not improbable that it made way for the favourable reception of the remonstrance in question.

We have very little account of the particular object of **ROBERT BARCLAY**'s visit to the continent which has been just mentioned. It may, however, be conjectured, that the publication of the *Apology*, which was printed at Amsterdam, was a part of it. Probably this book was presented to the king, on **R. BARCLAY**'s return from the continent.

It does not appear that the king's interference procured the release of **David Barclay** and the

other prisoners.* Soon after ROBERT's return home, he was himself imprisoned: but he was so far indulged as to be put into a better, or more properly, a less disgusting, prison than the rest.†

His commitment was on the 7th of the 9th month (November), 1676; and in the following month the news of his confinement reached his friend the princess-palatine, probably with some circumstances of exaggeration, as appears from the following letter to her brother, the prince Rupert.

Herford, December 19th, 1676.

* Dear Brother,

* I wrote to you some months ago, by * ROBERT BARCLAY, who passed this way, and * hearing I was your sister, desired to speak * with me. I knew him to be a Quaker by

* Besse's Collection of the Sufferings of the people called Quakers, Vol. 2. Article Scotland.

† The Tolbooth at Aberdeen seems to have been divided into the upper and lower prisons. The upper was the worse.

* His hat, and took occasion to inform myself
 * of all their opinions: and finding they were
 * [accustomed*] to submit to magistrates in
 * real things, omitting the ceremonial, I wished
 * in my heart, the king might have many such
 * subjects. And since, I have heard, that,
 * notwithstanding his majesty's most gracious
 * letters in his behalf to the Council of Scot-
 * land, he has been clapped up in prison with
 * the rest of his friends, and they threaten to
 * hang them, at least those they call preachers
 * among them, unless they subscribe their own
 * banishment; and this upon a law made
 * against other sects that appeared armed for
 * the maintenance of their heresy; which goes
 * directly against the principles of those which
 * are ready to suffer all that can be inflicted,
 * and still love and pray for their enemies.

* Therefore, dear brother, if you can do any
 * thing to prevent their destruction, I doubt not

* This word seems wanting to make sense.

* but you will do an action acceptable to God
 * Almighty, and conducive to the service of
 * your royal master : for the Presbyterians are
 * their violent enemies, to whom they are an
 * eye-sore, as being witnesses against all their
 * violent ways. I care not, though his majesty
 * see my letter. It is written out of no less an
 * humble affection for him, than most sensible
 * compassion of the innocent sufferers. You
 * will act herein according to your own dis-
 * cretion, and I beseech you still consider me as

“ Yours,

“ ELIZABETH.”

Whilst ROBERT BARCLAY lay in the Tol-
 booth at Aberdeen, his father was again * com-
 mitted to prison, and lodged in the lower gaol.

* It is not clear how David Barclay was released from his former
 imprisonment. Several of his fellow-prisoners were set at liberty
 on distressants having been made to answer the sums, in which they
 had been fined. Yet it appears, from Bense, Vol. 2. p. 518, that
 David Barclay was at home when the distress was levied, viz. two
 working oxen, two cows, a bull, and a quantity of corn.

He was committed the 5th of the 1st month (March) 1677, about four months after his son's imprisonment; and on the 17th, they were both removed, with three others, to a place out of the town, called the Chapel. In this Chapel the five prisoners were confined in a small room, which allowed them little more space than was necessary to hold their beds. It had a large door which was not opened except when the keeper brought them food; and when it was shut, the prisoners had not sufficient light to serve them at their meals. It was usual when the door was opened, for a servant to come and sweep out the room; and because, to make way for him the prisoners occasionally stepped a few paces out of the door, induced also by the desire of breathing for a few minutes a purer air, the magistrate of Aberdeen reprimanded their keeper for allowing so much indulgence. The same magistrate also chid the person who kept the key of their cell, for prot

posing to let them have a small place under their room, for the purpose of stowing fuel ; and rejected with indignation a proposal to make another window to their darksome place of confinement. Such was then the treatment of a man who had lately been well received at courts ; who had then published a work, which will long render his name eminent in the religious world ; and, it may not be uninstructive to add, many of whose numerous descendants are now surrounded with most of the accommodations that opulence can bestow, and with much more than the simplicity of the Christian life requires.

On the 3d of the 2d month (April,) an order of the commissioners of the Scottish council was made for removing David from the *Chapel*, for confining him at his country house, and prohibiting him to hold meetings, or to go to them. He was therefore released, but he informed the bearers of the conditions, that he accepted his liberty, but that, as to the restric-

tion, he should act as he saw proper. ROBERT was ordered to be removed from the Tolbooth of Aberdeen (where it seems he was still considered as a prisoner, though he was really at the Chapel) to the Tolbooth of Bamff; to which place were also ordered several other prisoners. The sheriff gave him his liberty, on condition of his being forthcoming, when he should appoint a time to convey him to Bamff.

The king's recommendation to the council at Edinburgh, had been referred by that body to certain commissioners appointed for putting into execution some acts of the Scottish parliament, against what was termed 'keeping of conventicles, and withdrawers from divine worship;' under which acts the friends at Aberdeen had been persecuted; and by some of these commissioners the decree had been made, by which David was liberated, and ROBERT ordered to be removed to Bamff. Previously, however, to this decree, the pri-

soners in general had preferred a petition to the council itself, requesting relief, and stating their sufferings ; which seem to have been even more grievous than those which ROBERT BARCLAY and his four companions had endured in the Chapel. The council listened to the request ; appointed a day in the 3d month (May) for receiving from the commissioners information respecting the condition and circumstances of the prisoners ; and ordered that, in the mean time, they should be provided with better accommodations. This order of council caused much dispute between the magistrates of Aberdeen and the under-sheriff : the former insisting that the sheriff should take to Banff such prisoners as had been ordered thither by the decree of the commissioners ; and the latter refusing to convey them, and pressing the magistrates to accommodate them better, in consequence of the council's order, which bore a date subsequent to the commissioners' decree. The contention grew violent, and each party

entered formal protests at law against the neglect of the other. ROBERT BARCLAY also and the other prisoners who had been ordered to be taken to Banff, being, as has been said, at large, on their parole, and seeing that neither of the contending parties would take charge of them, went before a notary and protested, ' that themselves were freemen, and should pass away about their lawful occasions.' Thus did ROBERT BARCLAY regain his liberty, the 9th of the 2d month (April) 1677, after an imprisonment of about five months.*

It may be acceptable to some readers to peruse the following letter written by ROBERT BARCLAY not many days before his release. This letter, with the petition before mentioned, probably contributed to his liberation.

' To James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews (so called.)†
' My being personally unknown to thee, hath

* Besse.

† Besse. Also Memoirs, p. 37.

• hindered me to give way to that pressure of
• mind, whereby I have felt myself oftentimes
• moved to write to thee, because I was loth
• to trouble thee: but since there is an address
• intended to be presented to the council, at
• the first sitting, in behalf of me and my
• friends, I could no longer forbear upon this
• occasion, to signify unto thee what hath been
• upon my mind for some time towards thee.
• The address itself will inform thee, how we
• have been upwards of a year imprisoned, and
• the goods of many poor people miserably
• spoiled; of which thou art said to be the
• chief and principal author; and that the
• attempting to persecute us, as well as the pro-
• secution of it, doth proceed from thy influence,
• as being done either at thy express desire, or
• by some others, in hopes thereby to gratify
• thee. How far thou art truly guilty thereof,
• thine own conscience can best tell. Surely
• such practices (if thou hast, either directly or
• indirectly, had a hand in them) will neither

commend thee to God next good men. I
presume thou lookest upon it as thy chief
honour, to be reputed a Christian bishop, de-
riving thy authority from Christ and his
apostles: but they never gave warrant for any
such doings, being preachers and practisers of
patience and suffering, but never of perse-
cuting, or causing to rob any of their goods
or liberties, for their conscience sake. And
long after, even several centuries, the primi-
tive bishops abhorred and detested such pro-
ceedings. Hence the excellent and zealous
Athanasius, that "*it is the devil's work, and*
not God's, to force men's consciences;" affirm-
ing, "*that the blasphemous Arians* (who were
the first bearing the name of Christians, that
used that practice) *have learned so to do, not*
of God, but the devil and his angels." Consider-
able are the testimonies, Tertullian, Hæsius,
Hilarius, Jerom, and others, have given to
the same truth; so that Ambrosius declares,
that going into France, "*he refused all com-*

22

• munication with such bishops, that had any
• fellowship with those that sought to destroy;
• even such as were departed from the faith."»
• I confess the bloody bishops of Rome gave
• large precedents of such actions; but I sup-
• pose thou art not ambitious to be ranked
• among them, or to be an imitator of them in
• that respect. How far thou art justifiable, in
• thy concurring with, or advising the perse-
• cution of the Presbyterian dissenters, it is not
• my business to determine; but I am confident
• thou art willing it should be judged, that thy
• so doing against them, is not merely for their
• conscience, but because their principles do
• naturally, or necessarily, imply an innovation
• in the state, and thy personal ruin: believing
• not only military resistance just, to protect
• themselves against authority, but also an offen-
• sive endeavour to turn out their superiors, and
• establish themselves in their overthrow, both
• lawful and laudable, as their practice hath
• sufficiently demonstrated. But shouldst thou

be found a positive persecutor of such against
whom nothing of that kind, neither from
principle nor practices can be alledged, but
only the simple exercise of their consciences,
would not that give plentiful occasion for
such as desire to represent thy other actions
with the worst aspect, to show, whatever
thou pretendest of the state's security, yet
thou art a persecutor of pure conscience;
since thou shovest thyself such against those,
against whom, the former reasons do not
hold? And surely it would seem that the
more our peaceable principles take place
among other dissenters, thy interest will be
more secure: which is a consideration not
unworthy of thy notice, as deserving thy
favourable aspect towards us. Perhaps the
violence of several of the preachers, as some
magistrates here, from whom our sufferings
originally do flow, may at first view seem
acceptable to thee, as faithful friends as well
to the public as to thy interest; and no

• doubt they judge with themselves, that they
• ingratiate themselves with thee, in so doing :
• yet didst thou know them as well as some of
• us do, thou mightst think it no great ab-
• surdity to conclude, as well from their prac-
• tices as principles, that they would be no less
• ready to give thee this same treatment, had
• they but opportunity of doing it ; and rejoice
• more in it, as a great service both to God
• and the kirk of Scotland : however that is
• now out of their reach, they make what use
• of the law they can, both to execute their
• malice on us, and flatter thee, at this juncture.
• In short, we have more than reason to be-
• lieve, that if thou oppose thyself to this
• our address, it will not be granted ; and if
• thou show thyself moderate and flexible, it
• will not be denied ; as *no mean persons* have
• hinted unto us : so as the one will be an evi-
• dence of thy moderation, the other will be a
• testimony of thy inclinations to persecute. I
• wish then, for thy sake as well as ours, that

• this occurrence rather commend thee than
 • discommend thee: and thou mayst assure
 • thyself, that the utmost rigour that can be
 • used to us shall never be able to make us de-
 • part from that living precious truth, that God
 • in his mercy hath revealed unto us, and by us
 • is embraced; nor yet fright us from the pub-
 • lic profession of it, yea, though we should be
 • pursued to death itself; which, by the grace
 • of God, we hope chearfully to undergo for
 • the same; and we doubt not, but God would
 • out of our ashes, raise witnesses who should
 • outlive all the violence and cruelty of man.
 • And albeit thou thyself shouldst be most
 • inexorable and violent towards us, thou mayst
 • assure thyself, not to receive any evil from us
 • therefore; who, by the grace of God, have
 • learned to suffer patiently; and with our
 • Lord and Master Jesus Christ, to pray for
 • and love our enemies: yet as thy so doing to
 • an innocent and inoffensive people, would be
 • an irreparable loss to thy reputation; so to

to the God of truth, whom we serve with open
 spirits, in the gospel of his Son; and to whom
 vengeance belongs, we leave it, who will cer-
 tainly in his own time, and way, revenge our
 quarrel; whose dreadful judgments should be
 more terrible to thee, and much more justly
 to be feared, than the violent assaults or secret
 assassinations of thy other antagonists. That
 thou mayst prevent both the one and the
 other, by a Christian moderation, suitable to
 the office thou layst claim to, is the desire of,

Thy soul's well-wisher,

R. BARCLAY,³

From the Chapel Prison of
 Aberdeen, the 26th of the
 First month, 1677.

It may be observed that ROBERT BARCLAY, in this letter speaks of the imprisonment as having been of a year's duration; which cannot be true, of the term of his own confinement. He must therefore refer to his fellow-prisoners, who had been generally taken up in the first

month of the preceding year. With regard to the archbishop, it is probable that he relented, though the author of some short memoirs of DAVID and ROBERT BARCLAY, (printed at Aberdeen in 1740) is not of this opinion, nor does the character of Sharp much support it.* The short lived protestant episcopacy of Scotland, may prevent some readers from recollecting that, at this time, the ecclesiastical government of the church of that country was vested in bishops, and that the city called St. Andrews was the metropolitan see. It appears by BARCLAY's letter that Archbishop Sharp had been rigorous towards the presbyterians, who formed the bulk of the community in Scotland. His conduct however met with a severe return, for he was murdered in a barbarous manner as he was crossing a moor, on his return from a sitting of the council.†

* See Burnet's History of his own times, anno 1678.

† See Burnet's History, anno 1679, Edit. 8vo. 1724, Vol. ii. p. 158.

ROBERT BARCLAY had not long recovered his liberty before he again travelled southward, for we find him at London in the 3d month (May), at which time he had, by appointment, and at his own request, a conference with William Rogers, of Bristol,* who had joined some separatists in Westmoreland in opposition to the discipline of the Society. BARCLAY's *Anarchy of the Ranters* had been written, in great measure, for the support of discipline. It was therefore natural that such a book and its author should attract the censure of Rogers. They met, however, in the presence of many friends; and, what is not very common in such debates, the conference was conducted with calmness and moderation; and was followed by the acknowledgment of Rogers, that he had misapprehended a part of BARCLAY's book. Rogers however still continued his controversy with friends; and even wrote again in

*Cough's History of the People called Quakers, Vol. iii. p. 16.

opposition to ROBERT BARCLAY's book;* so that probably, not to his yielding temper, but to the moderation and calmness of BARCLAY's way of treating him, may be attributed his concessions on this occasion.

The year in which ROBERT BARCLAY was released from prison, he accompanied William Penn in a part of the religious visit to Holland and Germany, of which there is an account published by Penn. They embarked the 26th of the 5th month (July) 1677† in company with George Fox and some other friends. ROBERT BARCLAY was with them at Rotterdam and Amsterdam. At the latter place was held a general meeting of the friends of the United provinces, in which many matters were settled and agreed on, relating to the discipline of the Society of Friends, and adapt-

* Gough's Hist. iii. 16, 17. Gough says, erroneously, (p. 15) that the *Anarchy of the Ranters* was written on account of the dissensions in Westmoreland. See Barclay's Works, fol. p. 238.

† Penn's Works, 2 vol. fol. Life of the Author prefixed.

ed to their condition in those countries. After a short stay at Amsterdam, they proceeded to Herwerden, the residence of Elizabeth the princess palatine. The principal object of their journey thither was to visit this princess, and Anna Maria de Hornes, countess of Hornes, who was her intimate acquaintance, who resided much in her house, and was, as well as herself, a woman seeking after the best things, and a favourer of such (says Penn) as separate themselves from the world, for the sake of righteousness.

They were received by the princess and her friend, the day after their arrival, about seven in the morning. Their visit appears to have been a religious meeting, which lasted till eleven, and in which all the friends were engaged in testimony.* The princess invited them to dine

* By this phrase is to be understood that each of the visitors thought himself required to preach in the meeting. Such declarations are called testimonies because they bear witness, or testify to that which the speaker feels in himself. See on this subject Barclay's *Apology*, *Disposition* 10. §. 7. §. 14. §. 25; §. 33.

with her, which they declined ; but as they desired another meeting, she appointed two o'clock in the afternoon. Such were the early hours then observed. At this meeting several were present besides the princess and courteses. It continued till near seven in the evening. William Penn thus speaks of it : ‘ The stern Word shew'd itself a hammer this day : yes sharper than a two-edged sword, dividing asunder between the soul and the spirit, between the joints and the marrow.—Well, let my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, when I shall forget the loving-kindness of the Lord, and the sure mercies of our God, to us his travelling servants that day.’

The following day, they paid two visits at this little court ; and the day after, which was the first day of the week, they held there a meeting appointed at two o'clock by the direction of the princess ; at which were present others

besides those of her household. Among other things, Penn says of this meeting, ‘ The quickening power and life of Jesus wrought, and reached them ; and virtue from Him in whom dwelleth the Godhead bodily, went forth.’ After this meeting, which held till late in the evening, the visitors took their leave ; but not before they had been witnesses of the tender disposition of mind of the princess ; who, attempting to set forth her sense of the power and presence of God prevalent among them, could not proceed, but turned herself to the window, and said ; ‘ My heart is full, I cannot speak to you.’ The next day ROBERT BARCLAY left the company, and returned to Amsterdam. It appears that his return home was by way of London. On the road he wrote a letter to the princess ; which, as it gives some account of his immediate circle of friends at Aberdeen, and contains other matters worthy of remark, is here inserted.

* Theobalds, near London,
12th of the 7th mo. 1677.

Dear Friend,

By thy letter of the last of the month past,
I understood that the friends were with thee,
and was refreshed by the account they gave
me of thy kind and Christian entertainment
of them (they having overtaken me in Hol-
land). God will not be wanting to reward thy
love, as well as to increase the same. Finding
no ready passage straight to Scotland, I came
over here; and albeit I had no great expecta-
tion of success, I resolved once more to try
thy cousin the duke of York.† So I told
him, that I understood from Scotland, not-
withstanding Lauderdale was there, and had
promised, ere he went, to do something, yet
our friends' foes were rather increased; and
that now there was only one thing to be done,
which I desired of him; and that was, to write
effectually to the duke of Lauderdale, in that
style wherein Lauderdale might understand.

that he was serious in the business, and did
 really intend the thing he did write concern-
 ing should take effect: which I knew he
 might do, and I supposed the other might
 answer; which if he would do, I must acknow-
 ledge as a great kindness. But if he did write,
 and not in that manner, so that the other
 might not suppose him to be serious, I would
 rather he would excuse himself the trouble;
 desiring withal to excuse my plain manner of
 dealing, as being different from court way of
 soliciting: all which he seemed to take in
 good part, and said he would so write, as I
 desired, for my father and me, but not for the
 general.* So he hath given me a letter:
 whether it may prove effectual or not, I can-

* Meaning the persecuted friends of Aberdeen in general. James 2d has been accused of pretending to be the champion of Liberty of conscience, for the sake of opening a way for the establish-
 ment of the Catholic party. This limitation of his good effects to
 the Barclays only, and his refusal to interest himself for the relief of
 the sufferers in general, does, indeed, favour the opinion that he
 was a time server, and not a real friend to liberty of conscience.

not determine; but of this thou mayst hear
& hereafter. I am now entered into my jour-
ney, and intend to pass by the way of Ragley.
What thou writest of the counsellor of the
elector, and the other preachers, is very ac-
ceptable to me to hear; whose joy it is, to
understand that the eyes of any are opened to
see the truth as it is in this day revealed; as
it should be much more, to hear that any
came into that universal obedience which
the life and power thereof lead to: which
life and power, as they are felt in the inward
part, are more than all the words that can be
spoken; of which I know thou hast, at some
times, not been insensible; and therefore my
soul's desire for thee is, that thou mayst more
and more come out of all that which cumbers,
to feel this virtue of truth to operate in, and
redeem thy soul from all the difficulties that
do or may attend thee. This, in the nature
of it, it is powerful to do, albeit thy tempta-
tions were both greater and more numerous

‘ than they are ; if received by thee in the love
 ‘ of it, and with a heart fully resigned to obey it,
 ‘ in all its requirings ; without consulting with
 ‘ flesh and blood, or turning by the plain and
 ‘ simple leadings thereof by wise and fleshly rea-
 ‘ sonings, which will never admit of the govern-
 ‘ ment and rule of the cross of Christ ; as thou
 ‘ well knowest and wilt not refuse to acknow-
 ‘ ledge, and therefore art the more concerned
 ‘ to watch against it in thy own particular, as
 ‘ I hope in measure thou dost, and my heart’s
 ‘ desire is.

‘ Thou mayst make mention of my dear and
 ‘ tender love to Anna, whose servant, as also
 ‘ the French woman, I forget not. To Anna
 ‘ I thought to have written apart, but must
 ‘ now leave it until another opportunity. If
 ‘ thou seest meet to salute that counsellor of
 ‘ the elector in my name, thou mayst do it. I
 ‘ shall add no more at present, but that I am,

‘ Thy real and unfeigned friend,

‘ ROBERT BARCLAY.’

In forming this compilation, no occurrence has been found recorded of ROBERT BARCLAY, from the date of the foregoing letter till the 9th month (Nov.) 1679, when he was again taken,* with several other friends, from the meeting at Aberdeen, and committed to prison. This confinement was not only of short duration, as they were released in about three hours, but it proved the last on this account; for from that period the religious meetings of Friends at Aberdeen, were held without any molestation from the magistrate. The well known interest which ROBERT BARCLAY possessed at court, might in part restrain them from further persecution; and the constancy of the sufferers could scarcely fail of producing an effect favourable to the end for which they suffered; the liberty of assembling to worship God, in the way they believed to be most acceptable to him.

In this year, 1679,† ROBERT BARCLAY obtained a charter from Charles 2d. under the

* Besse.

† Memoirs, p. 48.

great seal, erecting his lands of Ury into a Free Barony, with civil and criminal jurisdiction, to him and his heirs.* This charter was afterwards ratified by an act of parliament; the preamble of which states it to be 'for the many services done by Colonel David Barclay, and his son, the said ROBERT BARCLAY, to the king and his most royal progenitors in times past.' The barony, however, with all similar jurisdictions, was extinguished; on the alteration made in the system of the government of Scotland.†

In the year 1679,‡ he again visited Holland; but of this visit no particulars have been made

* It seems remarkable that R. Barclay should wish to encumber himself with the administration of either criminal or civil justice, at a time when many of its laws and forms were inconsistent with the profession he was making. His motives probably were, the expectation of possessing some personal privilege, and the hope of preventing, in some instances, the reference of causes to the decision of less upright judges.

† By Act 20, Geo. 2. cap. 43.

‡ Memoirs, p. 18.

public. Some business carried him the next year to Edinburgh; and, on this occasion, he received a friendly letter from the Duke of York, and two others from the Earl of Perth. These letters mark the writers' respect and regard for ROBERT BARCLAY: but as they do not explain his employment, at the time they were written, it is not necessary to present them to the reader. An extract of one of them from the Earl of Perth, may, however, be worth attention. It is as follows.—‘ I am
‘ glad to hear from you; and should be much
‘ more so to do you any service. I hope you
‘ believe better things of me, than that I would
‘ be much disappointed with the instability of
‘ human condition. I do not look upon any
‘ thing here as so fixed as to be worthy of too
‘ much concern, or capable to bear weight. I
‘ will resolve to be what God pleases, a plowman
‘ or a courtier, or what else may be most for
‘ his honour.’

In 1682,* ROBERT BARCLAY was again in London. He was then appointed governor of East Jersey in North America, by the proprietors of that province, of whom his friend the Earl of Perth, was one. He was also himself made a proprietor; and had allotted to him 5000 acres of land above his proprietary share,† that he might grant them to others at his pleasure. These were inducements held out for his accepting the government. Charles 2d. confirmed the grant of the government; and the royal commission states that 'such are his known fidelity and capacity, that he has the government during life; but that no other governor after him shall have it longer than for three years.' He had also authority to appoint a deputy-governor, with a salary of four hundred pounds per annum, a sum equal

* Memoirs, 51.

† The words of the 'Memoirs' are 'To induce him to accept thereof, they gifted him a propriety, with five thousand acres more, for him to bestow as he should think fit.' p. 51.

to a thousand pounds, or more, according to the value of money at the present time. It does not appear that any salary was annexed to the station which he himself filled, so that patronage, rather than riches, appears to have been the immediate effect of the grant. In consequence of his newly acquired power, he appointed **Gawen Laurie**, a merchant of London, deputy-governor;* but he never visited the province himself. His brother **John**,† the colonel's second son, settled in East Jersey; and the third son, **ROBERT**'s youngest brother, a youth of great hopes, died on the voyage, in which he had embarked with a similar intention. This was the son, whom **David Barclay**, on his death-bed, spoke of with particular affection.‡

The reader will recollect that **David Barclay** had been induced by **John Swinton**, a fellow

* The same **G. Laurie**, to whom, jointly with **William Penn** and **Nicolas Lucas**, West Jersey had been assigned for the benefit of the creditors of **Bylinge**, the proprietor. **Morse's American Geography**.

† **Memoirs**, 53.

‡ See page 10.

prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, to examine the religious principles of Friends.* This John Swinton had been attainted by the parliament of Scotland, prior to the overthrow of the regal government ; and, on its re-establishment, committed to prison in consequence of that attainder.† In the mean time he had adopted the profession of Friends ; and when at length he was brought to trial, and called on to show cause why he should not receive sentence according to his attainder, he waved some strong and valid pleas in point of law, which he might have made ; and replied, that at the time his crimes were imputed to him ‘ he was in the gall of bitterness, and bond of iniquity ;’ but ‘ that, God having since called him to the light, he saw and acknowledged his past errors ; and did not refuse to pay the forfeit of them, even though (in the opinion of his judges) this should extend to his life.’ He

* page 8.

† Biog. Brit. Barclay.

was however recommended to the king's mercy, and his life was preserved; but it is probable that his estates, which were forfeited at the Restoration, were not restored to him; since we find ROBERT BARCLAY, soon after his return from London in 1682,* assisting Swinton with his interest and purse at Edinburgh: thus answering practically and freely the apostolic exhortation (1 Cor. ix. 11.), by permitting Swinton to reap carnal things, who had sown spiritual things to his family.

The remainder of the life of ROBERT BARCLAY is not marked with many instances of public action. Much of it appears to have been passed in tranquility, and in the bosom of his family; yet he occasionally made some journeys to promote his private concerns, to serve his relations and neighbours, or to maintain the cause of his brethren in religious profession. On his return from a journey to the

neighbourhood of London, where he had been settling his son at the boarding school, then kept by George Keith, at Theobalds in Hertfordshire, his life appears to have been in some danger from the attack of a highwayman.* His wife had observed him in the morning to be more pensive than usual, and he told her that he believed some uncommon trial would that day befall the company; which consisted of himself, his wife, her brother, and Aarent Sonmans, a Dutchman, formerly a merchant in Holland, but then resident in Scotland. When the robber presented his pistol, ROBERT BARCLAY calmly asked him ' how he came to be so rude,' and took him by the arm; on which the robber let the pistol drop, and offered him no further violence: but his brother-in-law was rifled; and Sonmans received a mortal wound in the thigh, though it was thought, rather accidentally than by

delight. He died at Stilton a few days afterwards.

Robert Barclay about this time* appears to have been attentive to the welfare of East Jersey, by shipping provisions, and engaging indentured servants, at Aberdeen. In the year 1685, he was again in London; where he employed himself in many acts of friendship, both to his brethren in religious profession, and to others. He had frequent access to the king (James ad.)† who showed him marks of great friendship; as he had done before his accession. Whatever might have been the principles of James, Barclay, probably influenced by the personal kindness he received from him, seems to have thought him sincere in his professions; and to have conceived a real regard for the misguided and imprudent monarch.

In 1686‡ he was much solicited by George Fox and some other friends, who knew his

* Memoirs, p. 52.

† p. 53.

‡ p. 54.

interest at court, to come again to London, and employ himself on behalf of the society. Though the juncture in which their application was made, was not a time of persecution, (for that had ceased on the accession of James 2d,) yet the legal incapacity of our friends in consequence of their refusing to swear; and the ruinous processes, which were generally instituted against them for tithes, even of small amount; together with the little security which they felt, whilst the penal laws were only suspended by a power which they knew to be incompetent; all these considerations naturally induced them to desire that their ease might rest on a surer basis. That they really looked to parliament for a radical redress of their wrongs, appears by the following clause of the address from the Yearly Meeting in 1687.

“ We hope the good effects thereof (the king’s declaration of indulgence) may produce such

"a concurrence from the parliament as will secure it to our posterity." As Barclay, in compliance with the request of Fox and his friends, left home in the Second month (April) that year, there is little doubt that he was present at the Yearly Meeting, which was sitting the 19th of the Third month, as appears by the date of the address.

The applications of the friends in London to ROBERT BARCLAY, had been made many months before he concluded to come to that city, and soon after the accession of the king. It may not be improper to insert, on this occasion, part of the letter from George Fox, with a postscript written by two other friends, as testimonials of their love, and of the sense which his friends had of his usefulness, and alacrity in serving the cause he had espoused.

* This address is particularly mentioned, because a spurious one to James 2d. has been attributed to the Quakers.

• Edmo^{ton}, 19th, of the 5th month, 1686.

• The occasion of my writing to thee at this
• time is, that Friends were very sensible of the
• great service thou hadst concerning the Truth,
• with the king and all the court; and that thou
• hadst their ear more than any friend, when
• here, and freedom and liberty on Friends' and
• Truth's behalf. And now, dear ROBERT,
• we understanding that the occasion of thy
• sudden return concerning the condition thy
• wife was in, being now over by her being de-
• livered, I desire thee, and it is the desire of
• several other friends, that, whilst the door is
• open and the way so plain, thou wouldest be
• pleased to come to London with speed, or as
• soon as may be. There is a great service in
• thy coming, upon several accounts, more than
• I shall mention at this time; and so I hope
• the Lord will incline thy heart to weigh and
• consider thy service in it.

London, 2d of the 10th month, 1708.

DEAR ROBERT,

The within desire of George Fox is also
the desire of us, and we think of all the
friends here: we therefore hope thou wilt do
the needful therin.

We are thy real friends,

JOHN OSGOOD,

FRANCIS CAMFIELD.

Let not any reader be so fastidious as to condemn the simple stile of George Fox. Though unlettered, he possessed a sound judgment and a quick apprehension. But had he been, and were many more of the advocates for the inward light of Christ, and for a self-denying life, deficient in acuteness of understanding, this would not detract from their virtue, nor from the purity and excellence of religion. If the offices of religion are often filled by persons not distinguished by superior mental acquisi-

tions,* one cause of it may be, the too frequent refusal of talents and learning to bend in subjection to the humbling power of the cross. It seems difficult to quit this subject without expressing an ardent wish, that, amidst the career of prosperity, and the captivating charms of indulgence, some reader may be found, who may be willing here to pause; to consider, with BARCLAY, ‘that the height of all happiness is placed in the true knowledge of God;† and to inquire seriously of the Divine witness in the heart, ‘Am I really concerned to obtain, and to preserve this knowledge; or, is it the whole, or the chief, business of my life, to pursue things of a temporal nature?’

During this time of ROBERT BARCLAY’s abode in the metropolis, he presented to the king an address of acknowledgment from the general meeting of Friends at Aberdeen. He

* See a remarkable Case, in *Apol. Prop. 10, § 19*, towards the end. See also § 23, for Barclay’s own experience.

† *Apol. Prop. 1.*

also visited the seven bishops, then confined in the Tower for having refused to distribute, in their respective dioceses, the king's declaration for liberty of conscience; and for having represented to the king the grounds of their objection to the measure. The popular opinion was in favour of the bishops: * yet the former severities of some of that order against dissenters, particularly against Friends, occasioned some reflections on them; which, coming to the knowledge of the imprisoned bishops, they declared that the Quakers had belied them, by reporting that they had been the death of some. ROBERT BARCLAY being informed of this declaration, went to the Tower; and gave the bishops a well substantiated account of some persons having been detained in prison till death, by order of bishops, though they had been apprized of the danger by physicians who

* Cough, Vol. iii. p. 198.

were not Quakers.* He, however, observed to the bishops, that it was by no means the intention of Friends to publish such events, and thereby give the king, and their other adversaries, any advantage against them.

ROBERT BARCLAY was in London for the last time in the memorable year 1688.† He visited James 2d.; and being with him near a window, the king looked out, and observed, that 'the wind was then fair for the prince of Orange to come over.' ROBERT BARCLAY replied 'it was hard that no expedient could be found to satisfy the people.' The king declared 'he would do any thing becoming a gentleman, except parting with liberty of conscience, which he never would whilst he lived.' At this time BARCLAY took a

* This was a period of intolerance which has given place to a more enlightened and Christian temper. It is but justice to say, that the clergy in general possess a liberality of sentiment, very different from the spirit of that day.

† Memoirs,

final illness of the king, for whose troubles he was much concerned; and with whom he had been several times engaged in serious discourse, on the posture of affairs at that time.

After he returned from London, he spent the remainder of his life, being about two years, chiefly at home; where he enjoyed the esteem and regard of his neighbours, and the comforts of domestic society. In the year 1690, he accompanied James Dickinson, a minister from Cumberland; in a religious visit to some parts of the north of Scotland; and soon after his return from this visit, he was seized with a violent fever, which, in a short time, put a period to his life. James Dickinson was with him at the time of his illness. It was a solemn season; and their spirits were deeply affected with a sense of the Divine goodness. ROBERT BARCLAY, though much oppressed by the disorder, was in a truly resigned, peaceful, and Christian frame of mind. He expressed his love to all faithful Friends in England, and

to all the faithful every where ; particularly to friends in Cumberland where James Dickinson resided, and to George Fox, for whom he had a special regard; and concluded with these comfortable expressions : ‘ God is good still : ‘ and though I am under a great weight of ‘ sickness and weakness, yet my peace flows. ‘ This I know, that whatever exercises may be ‘ permitted to come upon me, they shall tend ‘ to God’s glory, and my salvation : and in ‘ that I rest.’*—He died the 3d of the 8th month, (October,) in the year 1690, and in the 42d year of his age. His body was attended to the grave at Ury, by many of the most respectable persons in the neighbourhood.

Before the conclusion of this part of the account respecting ROBERT BARCLAY, it will probably be agreeable to the reader, to survey the qualities and virtues of this respectable man, drawn together and placed in a single point of view. From the testimonies of George Fox,

* *Piety Promoted.* Cough, 3d vol. p. 247.

William Penn, Patrick Livingstone; and Andrew Jaffray, men who knew him well; and from his life and writings; the following character of ROBERT BARCLAY is faithfully delineated.

He was distinguished by strong mental powers, particularly by great penetration, and a sound and accurate judgment. His talents were much improved by a regular and classical education. It does not, however, appear that his superior qualifications produced that elation of mind, which is too often their attendant: he was meek, humble, and ready to allow others the merit they possessed. All his passions were under the most excellent government. Two of his intimate friends, in their character of him, declare, that they never knew him to be angry. He had the happiness of early perceiving the infinite superiority of religion, to every other attainment; and Divine grace enabled him to dedicate his life, and all that he possessed, to promote the cause of piety and

virtue. For the welfare of his friends, he was sincerely and warmly concerned : and he travelled, and wrote much, as well as suffered cheerfully, in support of the society and the principles to which he had conscientiously attached himself. But this was not a blind and bigoted attachment. His zeal was tempered with charity ; and he loved and respected goodness wherever he found it. His uncorrupted integrity and liberality of sentiment, his great abilities and the suavity of his disposition, gave him much interest with persons of rank and influence ; and he employed it in a manner that marked the benevolence of his heart. He loved peace ; and was often instrumental in settling disputes, and in producing reconciliation between contending parties.

In the support and pursuit of what he believed to be right, he possessed great firmness of mind ; which was early evinced in the pious and dutiful sentiment he expressed to his uncle, who tempted him with great offers to remain in

Miance, against the desire of his father: "He is my father, (said he,) and he must be obeyed." All the virtues harmonize, and are connected with one another: this firm and resolute spirit in the prosecution of duty, was united with great sympathy and compassion towards persons in affliction and distress. They were consol'd by his tenderness, assisted by his advice, and occasionally relieved by his bounty. His spiritual discernment and religious experience, directed by that Divine influence which he valued above all things, eminently qualified him to instruct the ignorant, to reprove the irreligious, to strengthen the feeble minded, and to animate the advanced Christian to still greater degrees of virtue and holiness.

In private life, he was equally amiable. His conversation was cheerful, guarded, and instructive. He was a dutiful son, an affectionate and faithful husband, a tender and careful father, a kind and considerate master.—Without exaggeration, it may be said, that piety and

virtue were recommended by his example; and that, though the period of his life was short, he had, by the aid of Divine grace, most wisely and happily improved it. He lived long enough to manifest, in an eminent degree, the temper and conduct of a Christian, and the virtues and qualifications of a true minister of the Gospel.

PART II.

His writings—the time and motives of their publication—and a brief description of their contents.

ROBERT BARCLAY's first appearance as an author, was about the 22d year of his age. The work bears the following title: ‘Truth cleared of calumnies: wherein a book entitled “A dialogue between a Quaker and a stâble Christian” (printed at Aberdeen, and, upon good ground, judged to be writ by William Mitchell, a preacher near it) is examined, and the disingenuity of the author in his representing the Quakers is discovered; their case truly stated, cleared, demonstrated, and the objections of their opposers answered, according to truth, scripture, and right reason.’ The title page bespeaks the intention of the work; and it may be only necessary to add, that the

dialogue to which it is an answer, seems to have been the result of a controversy that had long been maintained between the friends in Aberdeen, and some of the clergy; the latter having endeavoured to represent them as holding doctrines injurious to religion. The reader may find in Barclay's 'Truth cleared of Calumnies,' some of those leading points of the doctrine of Friends, handled in a concise manner, which are more diffusely treated in some of his subsequent works. To this book was added, in the same year, a postscript, entitled 'Some things of weighty concernment, proposed in meekness and love, by way of queries to the serious consideration of the inhabitants of Aberdeen; which may also be of use to such as are of the same mind with them elsewhere in this nation.' The questions are twenty in number. Some of them pointedly relate to the controversy on foot; others are of a more general nature; and all

are worth the perusal of such as engage in religious disputes.

Wm. Mitchell, the supposed author of the anonymous 'Dialogue,' having thought fit to reply to our author's 'Truth cleared from 'Calumnies,' gave him occasion to publish in 1672* his piece called 'William Mitchell 'Unmasked: or the staggering instability of 'the pretended stable Christian discovered; 'his omissions observed, and weakness unveiled, 'in his late faint and feeble animadversions, by 'way of reply to a book entitled "Truth "cleared of Calumnies;" wherein the integrity 'of the Quakers' doctrine is the second time 'justified and cleared from the reiterated clamorous, but causeless calumnies of this caviling catechist.' From such a title, a closer conflict might be expected; and this we find was the case. William Penn in his preface to Barclay's works, speaking of this book, observes

* At the age of 24.

that 'the dispute rises high, and the contest,
' seems sharp and close; but to every impartial
' reader the advantage evidently runs on our
' author's side, who appears rather zealous than
' heated, and sharper on his enemy's matter
' than person: for he rather pities his enemy,
' than triumphs over his weakness and envy.
' Here, as in an exact draught, the reader
' has an account of the fabulous principles
' given under our names, and those that we
' really profess; and the pleasure even men
' pretending to religion take to render a poor
' self-denying people that which they are not;
' as if they feared we should be in the right, or
' hold principles nearer to what they themselves
' profess to believe, than is convenient for their
' interest with the people to allow; lest that,
' together with the sobriety their [*our*] worst
' enemies allow to be so conspicuous among
' them [*us*], should give them [*us*] too great
' a credit with their hearers.'—The editor of
the *Biographia Britannica* characterizing this

performance of BARCLAY, says, ‘ In this work our author discovers an amazing variety of learning ; which shows how good a use he made of his time at Paris, and how thorough a master he was of the scriptures, the fathers, and ecclesiastical history ; and with how much skill and judgment he applied them.’

In these two books, namely ‘ Truth cleared of Calumnies,’ and ‘ William Mitchell Unmasked,’ will be found the buddings of much of that sound argument, which afterwards grew to so vigorous a degree of strength in BARCLAY’s famous Apology.

Our author’s next publication was a half sheet, entitled ‘ A seasonable warning and serious exhortation to, and expostulation with, the inhabitants of Aberdeen, concerning this present dispensation, and day of God’s living visitation towards them.’ From this paper I have given an extract at page 22, relative to the author’s message in sackcloth.

Some queries respecting that matter having been dispersed in Aberdeen, an answer to them was also published, which appears as a postscript to the 'Seasonable Warning,' in the collection of BARCLAY's works. From this postscript, it is evident that ROBERT BARCLAY had the unity and concurrence of his friends on the occasion of his mortifying errand; and that he was accompanied by some of them.

Now, quitting for a while the field of controversy, our author compiled and published his Catechism and Confession of Faith; a work which has gone through several editions in English, and one in Latin. The first edition is that of 1673. The society of friends had been represented as vilifying and denying the scriptures; 'to disprove which,' says BARCLAY addressing himself to the reader 'this catechism and confession of faith are compiled and brought to thy view'—'In answer to the questions, there is not one word, that I know of, placed, but the express words of scripture.'

Accordingly the work is called 'A Catechism
' and Confession of Faith, approved of and
' agreed unto by the general assembly of the
' patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, Christ
' himself chief speaker in and among them:
' which containeth a true and faithful account
' of the principles and doctrines which are most
' surely believed by the churches of Christ in
' Great Britain and Ireland, who are reproach-
' fully called by the name of Quakers; yet are
' found in the one faith with the primitive
' church and saints: as is most clearly demon-
' strated by some plain scripture testimonies,
' (without consequences or commentaries,)
' which are here collected and inserted by way
' of answer to a few weighty, yet easy and
' familiar questions, fitted as well for the wisest
' and largest, as for the weakest and lowest,
' capacities. To which are added an expostu-
' lation with, and appeal to, all other pro-
' fessors.' As the days in which we live are
marked by bold attempts to vilify the scrip-

tures ; and as even under our profession there have been persons, who have endeavoured to bring them into discredit, thinking to succeed the more easily with a people who believe in the superior excellence of the Spirit ; it is peculiarly interesting to behold in what light ROBERT BARCLAY, the able asserter of that superior excellence, viewed the scriptures. It is further interesting, because some persons have imagined that ROBERT BARCLAY himself countenanced opinions not favourable to the Divine authority of the scriptures. His works nevertheless teem with references to scripture authority. He never shrinks from the test of scripture, on disputed points ; and in the present work he declares that it is his design to let the simple words of scripture, uncommented on, be the advocates of the cause which he espouses.

After the publication of the Catechism, it appears that the next production of our author's pen, was, his 'Theses Theologicae'

of which further mention will be made. In the year 1675 he published at Rotterdam a piece in Latin against Nicolas Arnold, professor in the university of Franequer, in Friesland, one of the United Provinces, who had controverted his Theses. This piece is entitled,

“Christianæ quædam animadversiones in Nicolai Arnoldi (qui S. S. theologiæ Doctor et Proffes. se prædicat) exercitationem theologicam de Quakerismo, ejusque brevis refutatio.”*

It is addressed as follows, “Omnibus totius Belgii, et presertim Academiæ Franequerianæ, doctoribus, professoribus, et studiosis, ROBERTUS BARCLAIUS Divini Spiritus illuminationem uberiorem ad intelligentiam veritatis, animumque ad eam amplectandam proclivem exoptat.†

* Some Christian remarks on the Theological Exercitation on Quakerism of Nicolas Arnold, (who styles himself doctor and professor of divinity) and a short refutation of it.

† To all the doctors, professors, and students, in the Netherlands, more especially to those of the university of Franequer, Robert Barclay wisheth a fuller illumination of the Divine Spirit; for the understanding of the Truth, and a mind disposed to embrace it.

The same year he gave to the public, ‘ A true and faithful account of the most material passages of a dispute betwixt some students of divinity (so called) of the university of Aberdeen, and the people called Quakers.’ The issue of this dispute has been already mentioned (p. 28). The disputing students had also published an account of it, in a piece entitled ‘ Quakerism canvassed ;’ which occasioned a reply from BARCLAY and his friends, under the title of ‘ Quakerism confirmed’ in two parts, both dated 1676. To the latter are subjoined three certificates, from four persons present at the dispute, who, it also appears, were the same that were convinced by means of the impressions then made on their minds. The character, therefore, of these latter publications of BARCLAY may be learned from the students’ certificates : which are as follows.

‘ We the underscribers, late students of philosophy in the university of Aberdeen, being

• present at the dispute, do faithfully declare,
• that the students have grossly belied the
• Quakers in their account, making them to
• speak that which they spake not; and also
• forging arguments and answers not mentioned
• upon the place. And though we had no in-
• tention at that time to own the people called
• Quakers, yet we dare not but declare that
• their answer and behaviour had no small in-
• fluence upon us, to make us in love with their
• way, and to search after it more diligently:
• as also the students' arguments and lightness
• did not a little tend to make us disgust them
• and their principles. And albeit that inward
• peace and satisfaction of mind, which we
• enjoy in the truth we now profess with that
• despised and injured people, doth make us
• bless the day in which it pleased God to
• bring us among them; yet we are not a little
• confirmed in the belief of this reproached
• testimony and witnesses, that we find the
• strongest arguments their adversaries have

‘against them are lies and calumnies. And
‘this we testify for the Truth, whom the Truth
‘hath taught not to lie.

‘ROBERT SANDILANDS.

‘JAMES ALEXANDER.’

‘And I also declare, who (being a student
‘at that time in the Old Town College) was
‘present at the dispute, and heard the same
‘with attention, that the students have grossly
‘belied the Quakers in many things in their
‘account. And although that since it hath
‘pleased God to join me unto that people, yet
‘at that time I had no mind to be of their
‘way. However when I saw their account I
‘did approve it as ingenuous, as now I
‘also do, and disapprove the students as false
‘in many things.

‘ALEXANDER SEATON.’

‘And I likewise (being a student in the
‘New Town College) at that time was pre-

‘ sent at the dispute, and do declare that the
‘ students’ folly and lightness had no small
‘ influence upon me to search more narrowly
‘ into the way of that people ; which it pleased
‘ the Lord to bless unto me, so that the eyes
‘ of my understanding came to be opened, and
‘ I came fully to be convinced of the truth of
‘ their principles and way ; to which now by
‘ the mercy of the Lord I am joined ; and do
‘ find by comparing the two accounts together,
‘ that the students have wronged the people
‘ called Quakers in divers things, as the
‘ students’ self contradictions do sufficiently
‘ show.

‘ ALEXANDER PATERSON.’

This appears to have been a busy time with ROBERT BARCLAY ; for in the same year were published his ‘ Anarchy of the Ranters,’ and his ‘ Apology.’ The latter was as yet only submitted to the learned world, being printed in Latin at Amsterdam. Let us, therefore

suspend our review of it, and advert to the other book, the title of which at large is ' The
• Anarchy of the Ranters, and other libertines,
• the Hierarchy of the Romanists, and other
• pretended churches, equally refuted and re-
• futed : in a two-fold apology for the church
• and people of God called in derision Quakers.
• Wherein they are vindicated from those that
• accuse them of confusion and disorder on
• the one hand, and from such as calumniate
• them with tyranny and imposition on the
• other ; showing that as the true and pure
• principles of the gospel are restored by their
• testimony ; so is also the ancient apostolic
• order of the church of Christ re-established
• among them, and settled upon its right basis
• and foundation.' The scope of this work
may be discovered by its title ; but it is use-
ful to know that Friends, at that time, were
calumniated by their adversaries as a people
who, under colour of private internal direction,
were laying waste good order ; whilst by some

dissatisfied persons among themselves, they were accused of violating the rights of private judgment, and restraining the operations of the spirit in individuals, by the discipline which had been set up among them. The author therefore endeavours to reconcile the province of the body with the privileges of individuals, and he does it in a masterly manner. The work has passed through several impressions, and as its title when abridged to the few words, "The Anarchy of the Ranters," conveys little or no information of its contents, the Yearly Meeting lately ordered an additional title to be prefixed, namely, "A Treatise on Christian Discipline." It is a work worthy of general perusal; and particularly claims the attention of all persons, who think it is their duty to be active, in supporting and executing the discipline of the church. In the collection of BARCLAY's works there is an explanatory postscript (written in prison in 1679,) occasioned by the opposition of Rogers, already mentioned.

(pp. 48, 49), which exhibits our author in an amiable view.*

The Theses Theologicæ have been already mentioned. They have been printed in Latin, French, German, Dutch, and English. One of the English editions bears the title of ‘The principles of true Christianity and sound divinity asserted.’ They are addressed as follows. ‘To the clergy of what sort soever, unto whose hands these may come; but more particularly to the doctors, professors, and students of divinity, in the universities and schools of Great Britain, whether prelatical, presbyterian, or any other,—ROBERT BARCLAY, a servant of the Lord God, and one of those who in derision are called Quakers, wisheth unfeigned repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth.’ These theses or propositions are fifteen in number.

* It appears from a paper subjoined that the Anarchy of the Ranters had been approved by the Morning Meeting at London; which meeting had then been established about three years.

The following are the subjects of them.

1. Concerning the true foundation of knowledge.
2. Immediate Revelation.
3. the Scriptures.
4. Condition of Man in the fall.
5. & 6. the Universal Redemption by Christ, and also the saving and spiritual light, wherewith every man is enlightened.
7. Justification.
8. Perfection.
9. Perseverance, and the possibility of falling from Grace.
10. the Ministry.
11. Worship.
12. Baptism.
13. the Communion or participation of the body and blood of Christ.
14. the power of the civil magistrate.

in matters purely religious
and appertaining to the con-
science,

15. Concerning Salutations and Recreations,
&c.

On these subjects, the author proposes his sentiments, and explains them in conformity with the principles of Friends.

The propositions, being sent forward into the world, were well received beyond the author's expectation; and proved the means of removing some false and monstrous opinions which had been imbibed against the society. Actuated therefore by the like design of propagating the truth, and believing himself equally influenced by the Divine Spirit, he judged it proper to explain his propositions somewhat more largely, and to defend them with arguments; and this produced his celebrated *Apology*.

It is entitled 'An Apology for the true Christian divinity, as the same is held forth, and preached, by the people called in scorn Quakers; being a full explanation and vindi-

'cation of their principles and doctrines, by
 'many arguments deduced from Scripture and
 'right reason, and the testimonies of famous
 'authors, both ancient and modern: with a
 'full answer to the strongest objections usually
 'made against them. Presented to the king.'
 In this work the fifteen propositions (except
 the 5th and 6th, which are examined together)
 are separately examined and proved. The
 author's general method is to state clearly the
 position which he is about to prove; afterwards
 to adduce one or more scripture texts, which
 either plainly affirm the truth of what he has
 laid down, or from which it may be naturally,
 fairly, and clearly deduced by an argument;
 which he generally puts in the form of a syllo-
 gism.* He afterwards adds the testimonies of
 other authors of approved reputation in support

* For example. Sin is imputed to none where there is no law,
 But, To infants there is no law.
 Therefore, Sin is not imputed to them. Prop. 4. § 4.

of the doctrine which he is proving ; and lastly states the objections to it that have been made, or that might be made ; which he likewise answers by syllogistical arguments drawn from Scripture, or from self-evident truths, acknowledged by all.

The Theses contain the author's general opinions under each head, or division of the Apology : but in order to show, in this place, what those opinions are, it may not be amiss to exhibit an outline of what the reader may expect to find treated in a finished and masterly manner in this instructive, celebrated, and it may even be said, entertaining work. In truth, the road of religion is not without flowers ; and it should be remembered, that the thorns which are found in it, have sprung from our own corruptions, or from the vices of others. When the course of religion is unobstructed, or when the obstructions are overcome, her ways are still ways of pleasantness, and all her paths peace. It is occupation which forms much of the plea-

sure of the mind; when men resolve not to occupy themselves with trifles, and with such pursuits as neither make them wiser nor better, they may find genuine entertainment in the performance of their duty; and in the perusal of books written on subjects which pertain to life and salvation. Here the mind is not only occupied and entertained, but also invigorated.

On the subject of the First Proposition, our author asserts that the *true foundation of knowledge* consists in being acquainted with God; an assertion which, as he supposes it will generally be granted, he does not stop long to explain. *Immediate revelation* is held up in the Second Proposition: and BARCLAY not only shows the necessity of it, for obtaining that true knowledge which is mentioned in the First; but proves that the doctrine was held by the early teachers of Christianity; and that the revelation for which he pleads, is only to be obtained in and by Christ, through the Spirit. This

part of the *Apology* also contains (§ 5.) ROBERT BARCLAY's faith as to the eternal divinity of Christ.

The Apologist begins the Third Proposition, treating of the *Scriptures*, with declaring them to be the most excellent writings in the world ; to which not only no other writings are to be preferred, but even in divers respects are not comparable. Nevertheless he asserts that it is the Spirit that must apply them for our benefit, and must still be the primary rule of Christians. He then guards against the common objection, that hereby the *Scriptures* are rendered useless ; and shows that as they have proceeded from the revelation of the Divine Spirit in the writers, they can never be contradicted by the revelation of the same Spirit in the mind of any. He is willing that all doctrines and practices should be tried by them ; and that whatever any persons, pretending to the Spirit, do contrary to the *Scriptures*, should be taken for delusion.

In the Fourth Proposition are unfolded the views of ROBERT BARCLAY respecting the *State of man in the fall.* He denies the imputation of sin to infants, on account of Adam's transgression, until they join with the seed of evil in themselves by their own actual transgression; yet he maintains that all men are prone to sin, and cannot derive, from their fallen progenitor, any power to overcome it. A seed of sin he confesses to be transmitted to all men from Adam; but he prefers to call it by the scriptural terms of *Death*, the *Old man*, the *old Adam*, rather than by the Calvinistic term of *Original Sin*; which notion he thinks has given rise to that of *imputing sin to infants.*

In the two following Propositions, the Fifth and Sixth, which are considered jointly, our author shows the means of man's restoration from the fall; and ably asserts *Universal redemption by Christ, and the saving and spiritual light wherewith every man is enlightened.* He begins with some short, yet sharp, strictures on

the doctrine of *Absolute reprobation*, which he successfully opposes ; and proves the universality of Christ's death, and the consequent possibility of salvation to all. The author lays it down that God, who, of his infinite love, sent his Son into the world, who tasted death for *every* man, hath given to *every* man a time of visitation, during which he may partake of the fruits of Christ's death. Secondly, That, to this end God hath given to *every* man a measure of the light of his own Son—a measure of grace—a measure of the Spirit. Thirdly, That God, in and by this light, invites, calls, exhorts, and strives, with *every* man, in order to save him : which light received, and not resisted, works the salvation of all ; but that it may be resisted, and then it becomes man's condemnation. Having thus shown that man co-operates in the work of his salvation, he guards against derogating from the atonement and sacrifice of Christ ; asserts belief in all that is recorded of him in Scripture ; and that remission of sins is

only by virtue of that most satisfactory sacrifice. The subjects of these propositions are treated diffusely; and it is therefore difficult to do them justice in a sketch of this nature.

Justification forms the matter of the Seventh Proposition, in which word ROBERT BARCLAY always includes the idea of *being made just*; the immediate cause of which is the *revelation of Jesus Christ in the soul*, changing and renewing the mind: and he cautions all against supposing themselves justified by virtue of Christ's death, while they remain unanctified in heart, and polluted with sin.

The doctrine of the Eighth Proposition has been much opposed. It asserts the possibility of *Perfection in this life*: which perfection is defined to consist in a freedom from actual sinning and from transgressing the law of God. It is a state which admits of a growth; and from which there is a possibility of falling. The doctrine of those who plead for the im-

possibility of perfection, and for the continuance in sin, during life, is opposed at length; and the perfection for which our author pleads is placed in the full bringing forth of that pure and holy birth, the light of Christ in the soul.

The Ninth Proposition respects *Perseverance*, and the possibility of falling from grace. On these subjects the author's judgment may in great measure, be inferred from what precedes. Accordingly he is short in this part of the Apology; and his sense is, that the truth lies betwixt these two extremes, viz. the doctrine of such as affirm that *the least degree of true and saving grace cannot be fallen from*; and that of those who deny *any such stability attainable*, as *that there can be no total and final apostacy from it*.

In the Tenth Proposition, we meet with a subject on which the Society of Friends have appeared to differ more from other professors of Christianity, than on most other points, namely *Gospel-Ministry*. After explaining his

sense of what constitutes the Church, which he defines to be the Society of such as God has *called out* of the worldly spirit, to walk in his light and life, he shows what is the call of a true minister, asserting it to be *the inward power and virtue of the Spirit of God*; and rejects the notion of succession from the apostles. Having established the call, he lays down the qualification of a minister, of which he asserts human learning to form no necessary part; but places all in the *power, life, and virtue of the Holy Spirit*. Lastly, he maintains that the true ministers should not, cannot, teach for hire; and he opposes the practice of a forced maintenance; concluding with a lively comparison between the ministry for which he pleads, and that for which the opposers of our society plead. This is a very interesting part of the Apology, and teems with able arguments drawn both from the letter and the spirit of the gospel.

Worship is spoken of in the Eleventh Proposition. True worship is referred to an inward feeling of reverence and devotion, to the exclusion of all ceremonies which may be set about in the will of man. The author nevertheless takes care to assert the necessity of meeting at stated times, for worship ; but that, when assembled, the great duty of all is to retire from their own imaginations, to wait to feel the Lord's presence, and to know indeed a gathering into his name ; where, saith he, the secret virtue of life is felt to refresh the soul ; from which the acceptable worship is known, which edifies the church, and is well pleasing to God. The serious reader will probably find a secret influence engaging his mind to assent, whilst he peruses this part of the work ; which certainly claims the attention of all who call themselves Friends.

The Twelfth and Thirteenth Propositions are employed on, what are termed the two sacraments, *Baptism* and the *Supper*. Baptism

with water is declared not to be the one true baptism of Christ; which is proved to be inward and spiritual, according to the text, "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost" "and with fire;" and the objections of such as hold water baptism to be of perpetual obligation, are answered. The body and blood of Christ, of which believers partake, are asserted to be spiritual and not carnal; and to be really enjoyed as often as the soul retires into the light of the Lord, and feels and partakes of that heavenly life, by which the inward man is nourished. The arguments of those who contend for the ceremonious use of bread and wine, are considered and refuted.

The Fourteenth Proposition is, concerning the *Power of the civil magistrate in matters purely religious, and pertaining to the conscience.* It may be well conceived that BARCLAY here firmly asserts the unlawfulness of any attempt to force the conscience. At the same time he gives no countenance to persons

who, under pretence of conscience, would prejudice their neighbours.

The Fifteenth and last Proposition has for its title, *Concerning Salutations and Recreations*, though it also embraces some other objects. In it the author shows the unlawfulness, to Christians, of using flattering titles and compliments—of kneeling, prostrating, or bowing the body, or uncovering the head to any man—of superfluities in apparel for ornament and vanity—of sports, games, comedies, vain recreations, &c.—of swearing at all—and of resisting evil and fighting. On this occasion also, the objections of such as plead for those things are ably answered; particularly in the case of oaths.

The Apology was presented, as the title expresses, to the king; to whom an address is prefixed, which, for its manly style, religious boldness, and yet decent respect, has been much admired. The inscription is ‘ Unto

‘Charles 2d. king of Great Britain, and
‘the dominions thereunto belonging.’

‘ROBERT BARCLAY, a servant of Jesus
‘Christ, called of God to the dispensation
‘of the gospel, now again revealed, and after
‘a long and dark night of apostacy, com-
‘manded to be preached to all nations,
‘wisheth health and salvation.’

The address is long but not tedious. It does not assume, in any part, the appearance of a flattering dedication; and the author seems to have been particularly studious to guard against its being thought such. In one place he says, ‘As it is inconsistent with the truth I bear, so it is far from me, to use this epistle as an en- gine to flatter thee, (the usual design of such works;) and therefore I can neither dedicate it to thee, nor crave thy patronage, as if thereby I might have more confidence to pre- sent it to the world, or be more hopeful of its success. To God alone I owe what I have, and that more immediately in matters

* spiritual ; and therefore to Him alone,
 * and to the service of his Truth, I dedicate
 * whatever work he brings forth in me ; to
 * whom only the praise and honour appertain :
 * whose Truth needs not the patronage of
 * worldly princes, his arm and power being that
 * alone by which it is propagated, established,
 * and confirmed.

The concluding paragraphs are remarkably simple, strong, and beautiful. ‘There is,’ says our author, ‘no king in the world, who can so experimentally testify of God’s providence and goodness ; neither is there any who rules so many free people, so many true Christians : which thing renders thy government more honourable, and thyself more considerable, than the accession of many nations filled with slavish and superstitious souls.

‘Thou hast tasted of prosperity and adversity. Thou knowest what it is to be banished thy native country ; to be overruled, as well as to rule, and sit upon the throne : and,

III

“ being oppressed, thou hast reason to know
“ how hateful the oppressor is both to God
“ and man. If, after all these warnings and
“ advertisements, thou dost not turn to the
“ Lord with all thy heart ; but forget Him
“ who remembered thee in thy distress, and
“ give up thyself to follow lust and vanity ;
“ surely, great will be thy condemnation.

“ Against which snare, as well as the temp-
“ tation of those, that may, or do, feed thee
“ and prompt thee to evil, the most excellent
“ and prevalent remedy will be, to apply thyself
“ to that light of Christ which shineth in thy
“ conscience, which neither can nor will flatter
“ thee, nor suffer thee to be at ease in thy sins ;
“ but doth, and will, deal plainly and faithfully
“ with thee ; as those, that are followers there-
“ of, have also done.

“ God Almighty, who hath so signally
“ hitherto visited thee with his love, so touch
“ and reach thy heart ere the day of thy visita-
“ tion be expired, that thou mayst effectually

“turn to him, so as to improve thy place and
 “station for his name. So wisheth, so prayeth,
 “thy faithful friend, and subject.

“ROBERT BARCLAY.”

From Ury, the place of my pilgrimage,
 in my native country of Scotland,
 the 8th of the month called
 November, in the year 1675.

For some years previous to the publication of the *Apology*, Friends and their adversaries had been engaged in controversy; and our author, from his retirement, had viewed the contest, and observed the misrepresentations of fact on which some of their adversaries' censures rested; as well as weighed the strength of the objections, which they brought against what they did not misrepresent. He therefore came forth more fully prepared to enter the lists himself. That he did so in a most able manner, the generally good reception of his book, when first published, and its uniform and continued reputation, down to the present

day, sufficiently demonstrate ; and the important light in which it was viewed by those who were averse from the doctrines which it establishes, namely the stipendiary teachers, is evident from the number of them who endeavoured to controvert it.*

The next piece, in order of time,† published by ROBERT BARCLAY, is entitled, ' Universal Love considered, and established upon its right foundation : being a serious inquiry how far charity may, and ought to be extended towards persons of different judgments in matters of religion ; and whose principles among the several sects of Christians do most naturally lead to that due moderation required : writ in the spirit of love and meek-

* As Brown, ' Quakerism the pathway to Paganism ; ' Bajerus, prof. of divinity at Jena ; Holthusius, a preacher at Francfort ; Reiser, a pastor at Hamburg ; Keith, ' The Quakers' Standard Examined ; ' Bennett, ' Confutation of Quakerism,' &c.

† It is to be observed, that John Whiting's Catalogue of Friends' Books, pp. 5, 6, 7, is followed ; not the series in ' Truth Triumphant.'

ness, for the removing of stumbling blocks, out of the way of the simple, by a lover of the souls of all men.' The author first gives an account of his own experience on the subject; and then endeavours to state and demonstrate the nature of Christian love and charity; their consistency with true zeal; and the distinction of the latter from false, persecuting, zeal. He then states his subject anew, as it respects the different divisions of Christians; showing that their conformity or want of conformity to universal love, is to be drawn from the nature of their principles, and not from the practice of particular persons among them. Thus much being premised, he examines the principles of several denominations, and finds them defective, and inconsistent with the principle of universal love; as Papists, Protestants in general, and Socinians. Lastly, he lays down some principles of Christianity which perfectly agree with true universal love. The reader may easily suppose that these are the

principles held by Friends; and he will find the piece to be an able recommendation of ~~these~~ principles, and an exposition of them in an amiable light. An edition of this work was printed so late as 1800: but the first was in 1677, the year in which it was written, while its benevolent author was himself suffering from the want of universal love, being a prisoner at Aberdeen.

The books which were written in reply to the *Apology*, have already been noticed. One of these, namely, ‘*Quakerism the pathway to Paganism*,’ had been printed before the publication of the first English edition of the *Apology*; and was the means of prompting ROBERT BARCLAY to hasten that edition to the press, that the public might have the whole controversy before them. He afterwards thought proper to give his adversary’s book a more particular answer; which was published in the year 1679, under the title of ‘*R. B’s.*

‘Apology for the true Christian divinity vindicated from John Brown’s examination and pretended confutation thereof, in his book called Quakerism the pathway to Paganism: in which vindication, John Brown’s many gross perversions and abuses are discovered, and his furious and violent railings and revilings, soberly rebuked.’ It is common in controversy for authors to charge their opponents with railing; and the reader may think that our author, in his title page, has adopted the practice. He, however, makes good his charge, in his introduction; in which he says, ‘Men use to be sober and moderate that write controversies, in the beginning at least, and not seek to prepossess the reader with prejudice against their adversaries, until by the strength of their reason they have proved them to deserve it; but this man is so full fraughted with malice, and so in love with railing, that he cannot forbear in the first page, where we have him calling us “Locusts, of whose

" ministry the devil makes use, only masculine,
 " in malice against Christ—breathing forth
 " nothing but that putrid poison, that innate
 " serpentine venom," &c.* This is a speci-
 men of the spirit with which our early Friends
 had to contend. Though it must be confessed
 that some of them (whether from the provo-
 cation they received, or from sharp language
 being the temper of the times) were not entirely
 free from it themselves, yet the reader of
 BARCLAY's writings will scarcely think that he
 has fallen into that error. In the book in
 question, our author follows his adversary
 through the following divisions of the subject.
 1. The true ground of knowledge. 2. Inward
 and immediate revelation. 3. The Scriptures.
 4. Man's natural state, and original sin. 5. Re-

* The perusal of this excited a curiosity to look at Brown's epistle
 to the reader; in which, the first words that took the attention, were
 'Runagad Quakers,' and these were found to be the conclusion of the
 following string of epithets, 'This God-daring, Christ-blASPHEMING,
 'Spirit-despising generation, of the prodigiously profane and arro-
 'gant sect of Runagad Quakers.'

probation, and universal redemption. 6. Possibility of universal salvation; universal grace; necessity of the light to salvation; the salvation of heathens. 7. Justification. 8. Perfection. 9. Perseverance. 10. Ministry, wherein of Womens' preaching. 11. Silent worship, &c. 12. Baptism. 13. The Lord's Supper. 14. Liberty of conscience. 15. Wars and oaths. 16. Civil honour, &c.* This book, which is about the size of the *Apology*, has never been reprinted otherwise than in the two editions of *Truth Triumphant*; and the book of *Brown* having long since fallen into general oblivion, the 'Vindication' is little read; yet it contains that part of controversy which is the most useful part, the answering of objections; and therefore may still be read with advantage. William Penn esteemed it highly; and says he ranks the *Apology* and this book in the front of *BARCLAY*'s polemical writings. Of

* These numbers do not correspond with those of R. B's. Sections, because there, § 1 is an introductory one.

Of such writings this was the last published by our author; and it was not replied to by his angry adversary.

There yet remain two tracts of ROBERT BARCLAY to be noticed, the first of which he calls 'An epistle of love and friendly advice to the ambassadors of the several princes of Europe, met at Nimeguen, to consult the peace of Christendom, so far as they are concerned; wherein the true cause of the present War is discovered, and means for a firm and settled peace is proposed, by R. BARCLAY, a lover and travailer for the peace of Christendom.' This is a most instructive piece. Its object is to show the ground of war, and that means for promoting peace, while these grounds remain, are likely to be unstable and ineffectual: at the same time pointing the way by which a lasting peace may prevail. It has the following postscript. 'This came upon me from the Lord, to write unto you, at Ury in my native country of Scotland, the 2d of the month

‘ called November, 1677.’ Though it is long for a letter, and probably was not read by all the statesmen to whom it was addressed, it is short for a treatise. The tract, however, is full and clear; and it is hoped that this brief recommendation may induce the reader to give it a serious perusal. The letter was originally written in Latin; and afterwards translated and published for the satisfaction of such as could not read the original. To the translation, printed 1679, the following historical memoir is subjoined. ‘ Copies of the foresaid epistle, in Latin, were, upon the 23d and 24th days of the month called February, 1678, delivered at Nimeguen, to the ambassadors of the emperor, of the kings of Great Britain, Spain, and France, Sweden, and Denmark, of the prince elector Palatine, as also of the states general, and of the dukes of Lorrain, Holstain, Lunenburg, Osnaburg, Hanover, and the pope’s nuncio; to wit one to each ambassador, and one to each of their principals;

together with so many copies of the book, of
 which the author makes mention in the letter,
 the title whereof is " Roberti Barclaii, theo-
 logie verae Christianæ, Apologia ; Carolo
 secundo, Magnæ Britannæ, &c. regi,
 oblatæ."* This was the Latin title of the
Apology, which was enlarged, as we have
 seen, in the English edition.

ROBERT BARCLAY's last printed work was
 the translation of a long Latin letter, which
 he had some years before written to a person
 of quality in Holland, on the following occa-
 sion. The person in question was Adrian
 Paets. ROBERT BARCLAY, having had some
 conversation with him respecting the principles
 of Friends, was requested by Paets to recon-
 sider the strength of the arguments which he
 had adduced against BARCLAY's doctrine.
 This BARCLAY accordingly did ; and finding
 them weaker the more he examined them, he

* Robert Barclay's *Apology for true Christian Divinity*, presented to Charles 2d, king of Great Britain, &c.

wrote from his prison at Aberdeen, the letter to Paets. Some years afterwards he met with Paets again, in London,* who, after some further conversation, confessed 'that he had been mistaken in his notion of the Quakers ; for he found they could make a reasonable plea for the foundation of their religion.' Shortly after, our author translated and published his letter in English, giving it this title ; 'The possibility and necessity of the inward and immediate revelation of the Spirit of God, towards the foundation and ground of true faith, prov'd : in a letter writ in Latin to a person of quality in Holland ; and now also put into English, by R. B.' This letter is wholly argumentative ; and it has been considered by those who have read it with attention, as one of the author's most accurate pieces. It has much of a metaphysical cast,

* Paets was then a Commissioner for the Dutch East India Company. When Barclay saw him before, he had just returned from an embassy to Spain, from the States General.

and is rather calculated for the learned and the nice discerner, than for the ignorant and simple; and was probably, on that account, the more acceptable to the person to whom it was addressed, and the more impressive.

The works of ROBERT BARCLAY were collected after his decease, and published in 1692, in a folio volume, entitled 'Truth Triumphant, through the Spiritual warfare, Christian labours, and writings, of that able and faithful servant of Jesus Christ, ROBERT BARCLAY.' It is still occasionally to be met with. An edition in three volumes octavo, came out in 1718; but this is now very scarce. Should, however, the first and third volume be procured, an Apology completes the set. The English Apology itself has been printed eight times* in London. Accordingly the London edition of 1780 is called the eighth. But there has been also a Dublin edition, and one

* Unless the first edition may be excepted, on account of the place where it was printed not being mentioned.

in large quarto by Baskerville at Birmingham. There is a Dutch translation, of which there are two editions; one in Danish; one in German, of which there are three editions; one in Spanish, and two in French. The French one of 1702 is said to be so ill done as to mislead. That of 1797 may be depended on; but in any difficult case the Latin is the best means of deciding.* Of the Latin, a second edition was published in octavo, 1729, said to be 'priore emendation.'

Of the Catechism there is one Latin edition still extant. The last English edition in 1787, is the 12th. Of the Anarchy of the Ranters,

* In the First Edition pa. 161, the 4th pa. 243, the 6th pa. 243, there is a remarkable error under Prop. 8. Perfection, § 2. 4thly, viz. Who have *not* attained to everlasting life, instead of, Who have attained, &c.—Latin, Qui adepti sunt. The same error is in Truth Triumphant, folio, pa. 388, in the German, of 1740, and in the French Edition of 1702, p. 276. The passage is right in the 5th, 7th, and 8th, Lond. and in Baskerville's, also in the German of 1684 and 1776, the Dutch of 1757, the French of 1797, and in the Spanish. An opportunity of examining the 1st and 3d, or the 8ve Edition of Truth Triumphant, has not occurred.

and Universal Love, it has been already mentioned that there are editions extant.

That it would be gratifying to the writer of the foregoing account of the works of ROBERT BARCLAY, to know it had been the means of increasing the number of their readers, is of small importance ; but if, by reading them, or a part of them, any persons should be induced to adopt and put in practice the truths which Barclay recommends, the result to themselves may be both important and happy.

The mind, especially when not much accustomed to dwell on religious considerations, is not always disposed to advert to serious subjects. Sometimes, however, and particularly in youth, there are seasons when anxiety respecting the concerns of a future life will prevail ; and disturb the joy, which the pursuit, and the acquirement, of the pleasant things of time are wont to afford.

Happy is it, that these interruptions are experienced : for they bring into view greater and more permanent pleasures. On such occasions, religion comes for the purpose of bringing balm to the soul, and of alleviating its burthens ; not to increase its oppressions.

The restraints of a religious life are indeed sometimes irksome ; though principally, at the entrance, and less so as we proceed ; but in proportion as the mind is willing to suffer a sense of its weaknesses and wants to remain upon it, without seeking relief from dissipation, (taking that word in its least offensive meaning,) it will the less feel those restraints to be irksome, because it will know them to be the harbingers of more perfect freedom.

In this state of mind a review of the experience of those who have more largely tasted both of the bitterness and the sweetness of a religious life, who have borne the cross, and felt the consolation, of Christianity, will, at times, be a delightful recreation. Among the

number of these cheering and instructive examples, may be considered that of the man, whose religious labours have been exhibited in this volume. Though ROBERT BARCLAY deals more in argument, than in narrative, yet his writings contain much encouragement to sincere hearted persons, travelling through the temptations of time, to the rewards of eternity.

These writings also deserve particular commendation on this account, that they bear strong and ample testimony to Christ,—the sure refuge of the weary soul. The most feeble persevering Christian may be animated with the hope of reaching that sure refuge, when he reflects, that his Lord hath declared to the least, as well as to the greatest servant in his “family, “Him that cometh to me, I will “in no wise cast out.”

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